

RIBERA



Jusepe de Ribera



Jusepe de Ribera

1591-1652

Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez and Nicola Spinosa

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
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Director's Foreword

The idea of an exhibition devoted to Jusepe de Ribera, or Lo Spagnoletto as he was popularly known, has been long in realizing. As far back as 1973 Jonathan Brown organized a ground-breaking exhibition at Princeton and Harvard that was devoted to Ribera as printmaker and draftsman. Then, in 1982, Craig Felton and William Jordan mounted a fine monographic exhibition of thirty-nine paintings at the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth. Concurrently, the Royal Academy in London presented a remarkable survey of seventeenth-century Neapolitan painting, which was followed two years later by the opulent *Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli*, held at Capodimonte. If Ribera's status as the undisputed protagonist of Neapolitan painting had ever been in doubt, it was no longer. Indeed, to many it seemed that Ribera emerged from these exhibitions as not simply the greatest Neapolitan artist of his age but one of the outstanding European masters of the seventeenth century (his pivotal role in Spanish art is the subject of an illuminating essay in this catalogue by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez). That he had never been the subject of a comprehensive exhibition seemed inexcusable.

The possibility of rectifying this situation only became possible with an initiative mounted by Nicola Spinosa, Soprintendente per i Beni Artistici e Storici in Naples, and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, then Director General of the Museo del Prado, to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of Ribera's birth with an exhibition that would fully investigate the remarkable range of his work. Not only are Nicola Spinosa and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez the two most distinguished specialists of Ribera studies (they are the authors of the standard catalogue of his work), but the Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte in Naples and the Museo del Prado in Madrid possess the majority of Ribera's masterpieces. Plans were well advanced when the Metropolitan Museum was invited to participate as a third venue, an invitation that was warmly welcomed not least because the Metropolitan owns what is unquestionably the greatest painting by Ribera in this hemisphere, the beautiful *Holy Family with Saints Anne and Catherine*

of Alexandria (cat. 66). Also, the exhibition fits neatly into the Metropolitan Museum's program, which recently has been rich in Spanish subjects, including exhibitions of two other great masters of seventeenth-century Spanish painting, *Zurbarán* in 1987 and *Velázquez* in 1989, as well as *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment* in 1989.

At the outset it was recognized that the exhibition should have a different character in each of its showings: that Ribera's contribution to Neapolitan and Spanish painting demanded a more extensive exhibition in Naples and Madrid, while an American audience would be better served by a careful selection of his finest paintings. Thus, in Naples, where the exhibition was held in the evocative setting of the Castel Sant'Elmo—a stone's throw from the Certosa di San Martino—and at the Prado, where the grand central hall was arranged so as to accommodate the monumental, newly cleaned *Immaculate Conception* from Salamanca (too large to be transported to either Naples or New York), a hundred and a hundred twenty-seven pictures, respectively, were displayed. In New York, this number has been reduced to approximately seventy paintings (including two unique and seldom seen landscapes, generously lent by the duke of Alba). These are joined by a full representation of his etchings and a select group of his drawings. Among the many novelties in New York are the four surviving pictures from Ribera's early, celebrated series of the Five Senses, his six philosophers painted for the prince of Liechtenstein, and the luminous *Baptism* from Nancy.

For the opportunity to confront this great master of the Italian and Spanish Baroque in his full splendor, we are first indebted to Nicola Spinosa and Alfonso Pérez Sánchez and to the current Director General of the Prado, Felipe Garín Llombart, who has lent the project his full support. Equal thanks are due to Denise Pagano and Manuela Mena Marqués, Subdirectora General at the Museo del Prado. Mention should also be made of the conservation staffs at both institutions, who have carried out numerous cleanings and restorations. At the Metropolitan, the exhibition has been guided by Keith

Christiansen and Andrea Bayer in the Department of European Paintings. Throughout the process of organization, Plácido Arango has lent his support and assistance.

Visitors will note that, in fact, the exhibition occurs a year after Ribera's quatercentenary and during the celebrations of the quinentenary of Columbus's voyage to America. Columbus, of course, sailed under the Spanish flag, but he was Italian by birth. Ribera, by contrast, was Spanish by birth and Italian by adoption. He was, paradoxically, the first Spanish artist to achieve a European reputation, and his work inaugurates—in Naples, a Spanish dependency—the golden age of Spanish painting. This exhibition thus serves at the same time to climax the exhibitions held in 1987 and 1989 on Ribera's Spanish contemporaries Zurbarán and Velázquez, both of whom were deeply influenced by Ribera's early work (quickly exported

from Rome and Naples to Spain), and to celebrate one of the great masters of Seicento Italian painting.

We are extremely grateful to Argentaria, Corporación Bancaria de España, and its chairman, Francisco Luzón, for its generous sponsorship of this exhibition. We would also like to thank Iberia Airlines of Spain for providing transportation assistance and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Italy for its patronage. Additional support was provided by the National Endowment for the Arts, and an indemnity by the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities.

Philippe de Montebello

Director

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sponsor's Statement

The celebration of genius is always charged with an excitement that crosses all boundaries and barriers. Argentaria is therefore immensely proud to sponsor Jusepe de Ribera's four-hundredth anniversary retrospective at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. We thank the Metropolitan, the Prado, and other contributing institutions and individuals for making possible so extensive a presentation of this great Spanish painter's compositions. In keeping with our ongoing commitment to the arts, it gives us as much pleasure to be associated with this significant exhibition as it will give the many thousands of visitors who come to appreciate Ribera's powerful and compelling works.

Francisco Luzón, Chairman

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Notes to the Reader

Abbreviated references are used in the notes and references. For full listings, see the Bibliography, pp. 263–276.

Entries are signed with authors' initials. For key, see above.

Measurements cited are in inches and centimeters in the paintings section and in inches and millimeters in the prints and drawings sections. Height precedes width.

Introduction

Of the great painters of seventeenth-century Italy, none speaks with greater, more disconcerting directness than Ribera. Whether his subject is drawn from the Bible, the legends of the saints, classical mythology, or allegory, he is able to endow it with qualities of concrete reality and immediacy rarely encountered. Even the work of his compatriot Velázquez—whose early genre and allegorical paintings are so closely allied with those of Ribera—is less acerbic. Ribera's male saints, ascetics, and apostles have grown old and leather-skinned in the harsh sun of Naples; the torturers in his martyrdom scenes have learned their trade in the local butcher shops and go about their grisly business with the disconcerting air of tradesmen inured through long practice; his young virgins, though hardly plebeian, are those dark-eyed, dark-haired beauties that can still be encountered, on occasion, in the narrow alleys of the city; his shoddily clad ancient philosophers—Plato, Aristotle, Democritus—profess the pragmatic wisdom born of a life of hardship, not the abstract, professorial learning of the academy; and the gods of his mythologies seem long ago to have abandoned the regal splendor of Olympus for the less certain but more gratifying pleasures of the capital of Parthenope. Where else is the inebriate character of Silenus set so unflinchingly and hideously before us (cat. 16)? And who else has left so memorable a record of the handicapped poor as Ribera in his clubfooted beggar boy soliciting alms with a bare-toothed grin (cat. 60)? Like Velázquez's memorable depictions of the dwarfs and jesters of the court of Philip IV, this ragged creature has ingratiated his way into our collective social conscience. Compared with him, the peasants of the *Le Nains* strike a curiously sentimental note. Even Caravaggio's depictions of gypsies and cardsharps, which provided the initial impulse for Ribera's work, seem less direct, less raw in their mode of address, and more closely bound to established conventions.

And yet, these pictures are very far from being manifestos of realism. We know from his own testimony that Ribera deeply admired the work of Raphael and Michelangelo, going so far as to declare that anyone who failed to study their work atten-

tively did so at his own peril. (Caravaggio, by contrast, is said to have openly despised these masters, though his paintings contain frequent references to their work.) Almost alone among Caravaggio's followers, Ribera was a master draftsman, and his pictures were the fruit of a long habit of drawing—a practice to which Caravaggio attached no importance. Ribera's move from his native Játiva, near Valencia, in Spain, to Rome and Naples was by way of Parma and Bologna, and his conversion to the Caravaggesque practice of painting directly from a posed model was preceded by the lessons of the Carracci (among Ribera's earliest admirers was Lodovico Carracci, and Guido Reni is reported to have had an appreciation for Ribera's work as well). In Rome, Ribera's firm grounding in *disegno* was only temporarily submerged by the vogue for what that archclassicist Giovan Pietro Bellori was later to term cellar painting, in which a model, usually of humble status, was posed “in the brown light of a closed room, with the light falling in a shaft from above on the principal parts of the body, leaving the rest in shadow.” This is the formula Ribera used for his celebrated series of the Five Senses (cats. 2–5) as well as for the newly discovered *Saint Jerome* (cat. 6), which may well be his earliest signed picture and is carried out in a fashion almost indistinguishable from the work of northern Caravaggisti.

However, for Ribera Caravaggesque painting, especially in the populist guise adopted by his northern companions on the Via Margutta, did not exclude an appreciation for the rhetorical apparatus of academic practice. His interest in grotesque figure types and his etchings of eyes, ears, and shouting mouths (cats. 77–79) belong to the curriculum of academic training, though Ribera has endowed even these physiognomic exercises with his characteristic pungency. The elegantly twisted torso of his crucified Christ (cat. 14), painted in 1618 for the duchess of Osuna, ultimately derives from a design by Michelangelo widely disseminated through painted and engraved copies, and the backward-turned pose of the Saint Jerome in the Hermitage painting (cat. 15) traces its origin, directly or indirectly, to a drawing of the Annunciation by Michelangelo that was reproduced by Marcello Venusti. His series of prophets in the

Certosa di San Martino (figs. 11, 12) openly vies in artistic ambition with those by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel and with Raphael's sibyls in Santa Maria della Pace, Rome, but it does so in a naturalistic key. Ribera's eighteenth-century biographer Bernardo De Dominici may have erred in seeing the Spaniard's *Pietà* (fig. 13) as a response to Guido Reni's altarpiece of the Nativity—actually installed in the Certosa di San Martino five years later—but he was perfectly correct in his appraisal of Ribera's intent to demonstrate a mastery of those fundamental categories of classical painting: invention, composition, drawing, color, and grace ("l'invenzione, il componimento, il disegno, il colorito . . . e la grazia"). Indeed, in Ribera's work after about 1635, nobility of expression increasingly combines with figures of a convincing humanity.

In one work—alas, known only through three fragments of heads, two of which are in the Prado—Ribera, exceptionally, followed the composition of an ancient relief showing Dionysus visiting Icarius, but he was far from being archaeological or imitative in his approach to painting, and his work seldom discloses a specific ancient or High Renaissance source. In the *Drunken Silenus* (cat. 16), he may have had in mind the figure of an ancient river god, which he transformed into the grotesquely corpulent figure of Bacchus's companion, attended by satyrs and a braying ass that were manifestly painted from posed models (only at the last moment did Ribera give the ear of the youth at the left its requisite pointed tip). How one wishes that his treatment of that quintessentially Venetian theme, a sleeping Venus, known only through a drawing in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig. 32), had survived!

What makes the *The Clubfooted Boy* so memorable is not merely the unflinching depiction of the child's malformed foot or his set of bad teeth, but the way he has been elevated to an archetype by means of a carefully calculated pose, his powerfully sculptural silhouette dominating the picture, with the landscape reduced to a strip at the bottom of the canvas. In the 1580s Annibale Carracci had appropriated the High Renaissance vocabulary of Raphael and Michelangelo to ennoble the mundane tasks of the figures in his *Butcher's Shop* (Christ Church, Oxford), and it may not be altogether coincidental that Ribera's *Clubfooted Boy* strikes a pose similar to that of an allegory of servitude derived from a design by Andrea Mantegna that Ribera could have known through engravings (Bartsch 1803–21, vol. 15, no. 103, p. 428). Like some prince or saint, this figure from the margins of society boldly confronts the viewer, at once as an individual and as an emblem of Christian charity.

When Ribera arrived in Rome in the second decade of the century, the art world was split into two camps: those who, following Caravaggio's example, championed nature as the sole model for their art, and those for whom nature provided only an imperfect reflection of a higher truth and beauty. By 1630, Caravaggism was on the wane, but even to an uninitiate, such as Velázquez, who visited the city in 1629–30, the division was evident, and the two large pictures he painted during this time—the *Forge of Vulcan* and *Joseph's Coat*—can be seen as responses to these two conflicting points of view. In Naples, the classical position was represented by Annibale Carracci's favorite pupil, Domenichino, who arrived in the city in 1631 to undertake the prestigious commission to decorate the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro in the cathedral. Ribera, who came to view Domenichino as his archrival, is reported to have complained that "Domenichino was not a painter, because he did not paint from nature," and it was through the prestige Ribera's art enjoyed that Neapolitan painting maintained a firm grounding in Caravaggesque naturalism and chiaroscuro long after the triumph of the Baroque style in Rome.

At the very beginning of the century, Giovanni Battista Agucchi, the early apologist of classical theory and a close friend of Domenichino, had likened Caravaggio to the ancient sculptor Demetrius, "who was so devoted to appearance that he had no regard for beauty." He would doubtless have said the same of Ribera, for whom beauty and truth resided in the particular, not in some abstract idea. It was, of course, as a realist that Ribera was revered in the nineteenth century and as a realist that he has frequently been judged in the twentieth. However, as the foregoing comments suggest, his achievement was more complex. Like Caravaggio before him, Ribera repudiated the heroic, idealizing vocabulary of Michelangelo and Raphael, even as he learned from their example (the richly articulated, triangular arrangement of his *Holy Family with Saints Anne and Catherine of Alexandria* [cat. 66] is deeply indebted to the late Raphael). His use of a rich impasto laid on with a coarse brush that picks out the furrows of a brow or the sagging skin on an aged stomach, his love of the texture of cloth or old parchment, and his eye for still-life details testify to an insistence on the world of visual experience as his primary source of inspiration. However, at the same time, his paintings eloquently refuse to acknowledge a tidy division between art as mimesis and art as exposition. It is the union he effected between the complex and elevated language of classical style, with its emphasis on gesture to communicate emotion and drawing as a means of transposing the imaginings of the mind, and

the imperatives of realism that set his art apart and that, ultimately, account for its compelling and astonishingly modern voice.

For providing an American audience with the opportunity of experiencing in depth the achievement of this remarkable artist, Nicola Spinosa and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez have put us all in their debt, and I should like here to express my personal thanks to them for the invitation extended to the Metropolitan Museum to participate in this exhibition. Throughout its organization I have benefited from the close collaboration of Denise Pagano and Rossana Muzii in Naples and Manuela Mena Marqués in Madrid; their friendship has been a constant source of pleasure. My admiration for the staff of the superintendency at Naples, who had the difficult task of setting the exhibition into motion, is enormous. At the Metropolitan, Andrea Bayer has served as coordinator, overseeing all organizational matters as well as writing the entries for the prints: to her my debt is very great. Lisa Rotmil volunteered her services to help in the final stages of the production of the catalogue. Thanks are also in order to James Clifton,

Ronald Cohen, Nicholas Hall, Michael Helston, and Sarah Lees. At several points I availed myself of the sage advice of William Jordan, Jonathan Brown, and Craig Felton. Mahruck Tarapor, Assistant Director, has worked tirelessly to secure crucial loans, as has Plácido Arango. For production of the catalogue I should like to thank especially John O'Neill, Bruce Campbell, Gwen Roginsky, Rachel M. Ruben, and Ann Lucke, who had the complicated task of editing and overseeing the translations. John Buchanan, Registrar, and Kären Anderson, Assistant Registrar, have seen to transport and insurance. Finally, a debt of gratitude should be extended to Linda Sylling, Assistant Manager for Operations, Daniel Kershaw, Exhibition Designer, Jill Hammerberg, Graphic Designer, and Zack Zanolli, Lighting Designer, for their work on the installation.

Keith Christiansen
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Jusepe de Ribera



A Documentary Look at the Life and Work of Jusepe de Ribera

GABRIELE FINALDI

DESPITE THE SUBSTANTIAL CORPUS of works by the artist, the various seventeenth- and eighteenth-century biographical sources, and a considerable wealth of documentary material, Jusepe de Ribera remains a strangely elusive personality, a figure hidden in shadow. Our intention here is to throw a glance at the Ribera presented by the parish records, notarial and court documents, correspondence, and bank payments and to make one or two pertinent observations. The character of the primary sources that have survived for Ribera is such that we know a great deal about some aspects of his life, whereas about others we are wholly ignorant. Contrast, for example, the extremely detailed documentation yielded by the Historical Archives of the Banco di Napoli, which informs us about the painter's most banal financial transactions—the acquisition of a pair of mules from his sister-in-law Anna Azzolino in 1632 or the installation of a new set of locks in his house in the Strada di Santo Spirito some years later¹—with the complete absence of information concerning his youth, training, and his move from Spain to Italy. In fact, the primary sources are silent about the artist's life from the day of his baptism in Játiva, on February 17, 1591, until June 1611, when he received payment in Parma for an altarpiece of *Saint Martin* (fig. 2), which, although lost, is known through copies.²

Until a hundred years ago even Ribera's birthplace was a subject of controversy, but thanks to the discovery of the baptismal records of the painter's children, three of which mention that he was from Valencia, documentary evidence has confirmed what Ribera himself proclaimed in many of his signed canvases.³ He was "Valentinus" and certainly not from Lecce or Gallipoli, as Carlo Celano and Bernardo De Dominici would have had us believe.⁴ De Dominici, the eighteenth-century biographer of Neapolitan artists, has been the source of considerable confusion regarding the date and place of Ribera's birth as well as his youth and family, and as late as 1953, when Ulisse Prota-Giurleo published his fundamental essay on the

artist, he did so with a spirit of relentless polemic against De Dominici, whom he considered to be nothing but a peddler of "barefaced lies."⁵ Once all the documentation presented in the Documentary Appendix to this volume has been taken into account, however, a critical rereading of De Dominici's life of Ribera can still prove useful,⁶ and the current reevaluation that his collection of biographies is undergoing is certainly to be welcomed.⁷

Recent research by Eduardo Nappi and Antonio Delfino in the archives of the Banco di Napoli has provided important information about Ribera's works and patrons and also filled some of the gaps in his biography.⁸ A payment made to the artist in July 1616 through the Banco del Popolo for a painting for the Genoese patrician Marcantonio Doria establishes the terminus ante quem for Ribera's definitive move to Naples from Rome, where he had been living for several years.⁹ Another payment, of 1653, indicates that the patron of the *Drunken Silenus* (cat. 16), signed and dated 1626, was not the Flemish merchant-collector Gaspar Roomer, as the writers Joachim Sandrart and Antonio Palomino had led us to think¹⁰ (there were strong grounds to doubt this anyway, since Capaccio's 1634 description of the Roomer collection does not mention the work), but an as yet unidentified person from whom Giacomo de Castro, the connoisseur-restorer who sold it to Roomer, had probably acquired it.¹¹ The payments recorded in the registers of the Neapolitan banks illustrate the variety of Ribera's patrons. In addition to Doria, whom we know was a friend of Ribera's father-in-law, Giovan Bernardino Azzolino,¹² the artist's early patrons included the grand duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II,¹³ as well as prominent members of the Florentine community resident in Naples.¹⁴ In 1630 the count of Monterrey, while still the Spanish ambassador to the papal court in Rome, acquired two works from Ribera through his procurator in Naples, Giovanni Battista de Mari Francisci,¹⁵ and in 1636, Karl Eusebius (1611–1684), the young prince of Liechtenstein, made an initial payment for an important series of

twelve paintings depicting philosophers, only six of which, however, were eventually executed (cats. 35–40).¹⁶ The bank records inform us of the names of several of Ribera's Neapolitan, Sicilian, and Spanish patrons, but only rarely do we encounter payments from the viceroys of Naples, who were undoubtedly the principal buyers of the artist's works, often commissioning them on behalf of the king of Spain. Why this is so is not clear.

At present it is still not possible either to deny or to confirm De Dominici's assertion that Ribera was appointed court painter by the duke of Osuna, viceroy from 1616 to 1620, with a monthly salary of 60 doubloons.¹⁷ The payment recorded in 1618 in the registers of the Banco di San Giacomo, according to which Ribera received 300 ducats from the secret account of the king of Spain, may represent a settlement of arrears.¹⁸ In any event, there can be no doubt that Osuna was a patron of his, since the four paintings of saints now in the Colegiata of Osuna were made for him and the large *Crucifixion* for his wife, Catalina Enríquez de Ribera (cats. 13, 14).¹⁹ Like Velázquez in his capacity as court painter in Madrid, Ribera had the right to reside in the viceroy's palace, and in the documents relating to the court case brought against him in 1646 by the protonotary of the Kingdom of Sicily, Cristoforo Papa, he is referred to as "Jusepe de Ribera, Spaniard, of the household of His Excellency [the viceroy, the admiral of Castile], resident in the royal palace."²⁰ The Venetian consul, Marc'Antonio Padovanino, stated in a letter of February 1631 that the portrait of the prodigious Magdalena Ventura (cat. 25), who was a guest of the viceroy the duke of Alcalá, was painted "in the rooms of the viceroy." He went on to comment that the woman "has a completely masculine face, with more than a palm's length of beautiful black beard. . . ."²¹

We can infer Ribera's thoughts on art only from his works because the primary sources reveal nothing about this topic: the five surviving letters written by the artist are concerned with life, not art. They mention illness, financial hardship, family bereavement, and the state of works in progress,²² and yet Ribera's art does represent a series of profound and discerning aesthetic choices. Stylistically, the early works are characterized by an acute, Caravaggesque attention to the surface and structure of his models and objects, tempered by an appreciation for the work of Annibale Carracci and Guido Reni; the increasing luminosity of his palette and the greater formal complexity of his later works is rooted in his study of the art of the sixteenth century, especially that of Titian — a process that is paralleled in Velázquez's development. In his chalk drawings, he displays a propensity for academic refinement, but in his observation of quotidian actuality his pen work

reveals a wry and cutting wit. The letter written by Lodovico Carracci to the Roman collector Ferrante Carlo is precious not only because it testifies to the esteem accorded the Parma *Saint Martin* by the doyen of Bolognese painting, but also because it states that Lodovico had been impressed by the opinions ("li pareri") that Ribera had expressed about the pictures in Carlo's collection.²³ It is to be lamented that Carlo's letter to Lodovico, in which the Spanish artist's comments were reported, has been lost. According to Jusepe Martínez's account of his meeting with the artist in Naples in 1625, Ribera declared that he "meditated" on the works of the great masters of the sixteenth century, especially Raphael, adding that the painter who did not do so would easily founder.²⁴ In a period when artists were frequently very eloquent on matters pertaining to art, Ribera appears to have said very little. However, we can safely assume that he was neither a scholar (as shown in the poor quality of his written Italian in the two letters addressed to the Sicilian collector Antonio Ruffo²⁵) nor indeed an art theorist.

Documents also shed light on Ribera's personal relations with his artist colleagues and demonstrate that the artistic community of early seventeenth-century Naples was a close-knit group bound by family ties and friendships. Ribera's alliance with Azzolino — a successful painter and sculptor who had been established in Naples for many years — through his marriage with his daughter Caterina must surely have neutralized a whole range of potential threats to a successful career, even if the Spaniard did have the viceroy's protection from an early date.²⁶ Ribera acted as a witness to the marriage of the Valencian painter Giovanni Dò and Grazia de Rosa, adopted daughter of Filippo Vitale and sister of Pacecco de Rosa,²⁷ and the documents regarding the great *Communion of the Apostles* (fig. 16) for the Certosa di San Martino indicate that Domenico Gargiulo played a decisive role in getting Ribera to complete that picture.²⁸ Together with Massimo Stanzione, Ribera valued the works executed by Paolo Finoglia in the Cappella di San Martino di Tours in the Certosa,²⁹ and a few years later they jointly presented a report to the deputies of the Cappella di San Gennaro, in the Cathedral, on the state of the frescoes that Domenichino had executed there.³⁰ Sandrart states that Ribera accompanied him to visit Stanzione's studio³¹ and Jusepe Martínez had the pleasure of a guided tour of some of the finest picture galleries in Naples.³² There were two painters, however, with whom Ribera seems not to have got on well: Domenichino and Caracciolo. The poor relationship with the former is attested to only in the secondary sources; the documents say nothing about it.³³ As for relations between Ribera and Caracciolo, Cosimo del Sera, the Tuscan agent in Naples, wrote to the

grand duke's secretary in 1618 stating that if the secretary wanted to have an opinion on Ribera's talent he should not ask "a certain hunchbacked painter from these parts called Giovambattistello," who happened to be in Florence at that moment, since "there is no love lost between them and this Spaniard is envied by everyone."³⁴ Perhaps Ribera's relationship with Caracciolo would be better described as one of rivalry rather than enmity, since eight years later they stood together as witnesses to the marriage of Dò.³⁵

The dowry contract between Ribera and Caterina Azzolino, drawn up in November 1616, was witnessed by (among others) a certain "Julio de Gratia sculptor,"³⁶ while the dowry ratification document dating from the following year was signed by one "Antonio Jordano, painter."³⁷ Both are little-known figures, but it is worth pausing for a moment to consider the identity of these two colleagues of the young bridegroom. Antonio Giordano was the father of the better-known Luca, who would later be trained by Ribera. De Dominici describes Antonio as a "mediocre painter, who, lacking invention, copied the works of Lo Spagnoletto."³⁸ I am not aware of any modern bibliographic reference to Giulio de Grazia, who must have been one of the most esteemed sculptor-modelers of the period. In 1618 he was engaged in the execution of a *Judgment of Paris* in wax for the grand duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II,³⁹ and in 1634 the duke of Alcalá, then viceroy of Sicily, wanted to invite him to Palermo for a few days to commission some works from him and to watch him work.⁴⁰ One of de Grazia's works is listed in the inventory of the wealthy Flemish collector Ferdinand Van den Einden, where it is described as consisting of various elements made of gilt copper, lapis lazuli, wax, and crystal. It was valued at the substantial sum of 200 ducats.⁴¹

Two episodes from Ribera's life are very well documented. Thanks to the legal proceedings initiated against the artist by Cristoforo Papa to recover a sum advanced to him in 1641 for a painting of the Nativity, which by 1646 had not yet been delivered, three letters written by Papa to Ribera have been preserved in the State Archives in Naples, among the records of the court case.⁴² In the earliest letter, in which the request for a *Nativity* is made, Papa, a figure of considerable importance at the court of Palermo, adopts a surprisingly deferential tone, although his demands are very specific and stringent. The three letters inform us about a whole group of paintings made for Sicilian patrons, none of which, unfortunately, can be identified today. Ribera claimed that he had begun the picture for Papa and maintained that the work he had already done was worth more than the 150 ducats received and that to finish it he would require an additional 360, even though the sum initially stipulated was only 400 ducats. The court papers do not state how

the case was resolved, and we do not know if the work was completed.

The papers relating to Ribera's work for the Certosa di San Martino in Naples are preserved in the State Archives in the Suppressed Monasteries section.⁴³ Among them are some five copies (with slight differences between them) of the list of payments made to the painter. They show that occasionally he was paid in kind, with wheat, wine (once with two barrels of the Vesuvian wine, *Lacrima Christi*), and other provisions.⁴⁴ The last work Ribera painted for the Certosa, the *Communion of the Apostles*, placed an enormous strain on him; its execution was interrupted by a serious illness, and after the artist's death the picture became the cause of a legal dispute between the artist's heirs and the monks. The three letters written by the painter to the prior of the Certosa in 1651 show in a most poignant fashion how much his prestige had fallen and how poor his financial circumstances had become.⁴⁵ An unpublished letter written three years after Ribera's death by the painter's son Antonio to the prior Andrea Cancelliero indicates that, despite the quarrel over the *Communion of the Apostles*, relations between the Certosa and the Ribera family remained cordial. Antonio offered the prior a painting of Saint Luke by his father and reminded him of the "affection you bear for the things of the good soul [of my father]."⁴⁶ The work was acquired; though lost, a probable copy was recently published.⁴⁷

The image of Ribera that the documents present to us is markedly different from the caricature-like figure of De Dominici's biography. There he appears as a disdainful and arrogant man whose reprehensible behavior fully merited the loss of family honor that followed the seduction of his daughter by the swashbuckling royal bastard, Don Juan of Austria.⁴⁸ The monks of the Certosa di San Martino, on the other hand, describe him as "a pious person, friendly with the religious, who always behaved with love and generosity toward the Church."⁴⁹ He certainly acted with generosity toward the deputies of the Cappella di San Gennaro when he drew up a bill for 1,490 ducats for the large altarpiece of *San Gennaro Emerging Unharméd from the Furnace* (fig. 5) but only charged them 1,400, declaring "that the difference in value should be to the benefit of the said glorious saint."⁵⁰ Despite the good things said by the monks of San Martino, we may still find it a little surprising that Cosimo del Sera characterized Ribera as an "extremely modest man."⁵¹ Devoted to his family he certainly was, for we know that in 1626 he joined his father-in-law in caring for the five children of his recently widowed sister-in-law, Anna Azzolino, having had no children of his own after ten years of marriage (or at least none who survived long enough for his or her existence to be recorded in a parish baptismal register).⁵² None of this implies,

however, that Ribera was unambitious, holding glory and honors in contempt. In 1626 he was made a knight of the Order of Christ of Portugal,⁵³ a title that he seems not to have thought very highly of, since he only referred to it in one picture, signing himself JOSEPHUS DE RIBERA HISPANUS CHRISTI CRUCE INSIGNITUS (Jusepe de Ribera, Spaniard, marked with the Cross of Christ),⁵⁴ and this was in 1631, some five years after the knighthood had been bestowed. It is not unreasonable to suppose that what he really desired were the insignia of one of the Spanish military orders, probably that of Santiago, and that the genealogical document sent by the secretary of the Holy Office in Játiva, Juan Bautista Martí, to the Inquisitor General in 1638 (a document that was mistranscribed and misinterpreted by San Petrillo when he published it in 1953) represents a preliminary step in Ribera's unsuccessful attempt to obtain a Spanish knighthood.⁵⁵ It is well known that the Council of Orders in Madrid required strong evidence of the applicant's noble status, and it would appear from a statement in Pierre-Jean Mariette's *Abeceario* that Ribera sought this out in the most improbable places. Mariette had seen a letter that the painter had purportedly given to a certain Monsieur Langlois "in which he requested that he [Langlois] should find out if in the diocese of Auch [*sic*] there were people who bore the name de la Rivière so that Lo Spagnoletto could associate them with his own family in order to magnify its glory."⁵⁶ It is true that the Vatican committee that had approved his admittance to the Order of Christ had declared him to be "born of noble stock,"⁵⁷ but this was nothing more than a documentary formula, and, as we know from the case of Velázquez, the Council of Orders in Madrid demanded much more than hearsay or formulas by way of proof.

None of Ribera's sons became painters, and none of his daughters married painters, as did the daughters of Azzolino, Filippo Vitale, and, in Spain, Velázquez. Antonio and Francisco de Ribera embarked on military careers — Antonio eventually becoming royal governor of the town of Otranto in Puglia⁵⁸ — and Jusepe's daughters married government officials. Might these facts perhaps indicate a certain disdain on Ribera's part toward his own profession, an attitude that was not untypical of contemporary Spanish society? Probably not, at least if we believe that De Dominici's account of a prank Ribera played on two Spanish officers accurately reflects the artist's attitudes. De Dominici relates that one day these two officers, who often visited the artist, were in his studio discussing alchemy, the philosopher's stone, and the secret of making gold. Ribera, exasperated by their futile and ridiculous arguments, told them that he knew the secret and that if they returned the following morning he would make them party to it. The next day they

found him at work on a half-length painting of Saint John the Baptist. When he had completed it, he sent an apprentice to deliver the picture to a certain knight. The apprentice returned with a small paper packet. Ribera invited the two officers, who could not bear to wait any longer, to observe the magic operation. He opened up the packet and threw ten gold doubloons sent by the knight on to a table, exclaiming, "Here's how well I know how to make gold! What alchemy, what gold, what stone? Learn from me how to make perfect gold: I with painting and you by serving His Majesty!"⁵⁹

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1. See Documentary Appendix (henceforth referred to as DA), August 7, 1632, and October 20, 1637.
2. DA, June 11, 1611. According to an unpublished two-volume manuscript by Enrico Scarabelli-Zunti, entitled "Documenti e memorie di belle arti parmigiane dall'anno 1668 all'anno 1851. Chiese e oratori di Parma," held in the library of the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti in Parma, Ribera was already in Parma in 1610. In his discussion of the Church of San Prospero, Scarabelli-Zunti writes:

Aveva nel sec. XVI questa piccola chiesa tre altari, uno dei quali mantenuto da una Confraternita laica [che] nel 1610 commise al pittore Giuseppe Ribera detto lo Spagnoletto, giunto allora in Parma a studiare le opere dell'immortale Allegri, quella stupenda pala esprimente S. Martino che divide il mantello per coprire la nudità del povero. Questo quadro fu pagato al giovine e quasi sconosciuto artefice sole lire 109 [*sic*] ed un soldo, quando oggi ne varrebbe le migliaia! (In the sixteenth century, this small church had three altars, one of which was maintained by a lay confraternity [that] in 1610 commissioned from the painter Giuseppe Ribera, known as Lo Spagnoletto, who was then in Parma to study the works of the immortal Allegri, that stupendous altarpiece which shows Saint Martin dividing his cloak to cover a poor man's nakedness. The young and almost unknown artist was paid only 109 lire [*sic*] and one soldo for the picture, when today it would be worth thousands!) [vol. 2, p. 159]

It would appear that Scarabelli-Zunti obtained some of the information from the manuscript by Romualdo Baistrocchi entitled "Epigrafi esistenti nelle chiese ed oratori di Parma" (two unpublished volumes in the Biblioteca Palatina: MSS. Parm. 659–660), a source that I have not yet had the opportunity to consult.

For the subsequent history of the *Saint Martin*, see Cordaro 1980.

3. See DA, April 22, 1630; July 17, 1631; and May 9, 1634.
4. Celano 1856–60, vol. 3, p. 104; De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 3, p. 111.
5. Prota-Giurleo 1953, p. 97.
6. As I have attempted to show in the first chapter of my doctoral thesis on Ribera, which I am in the course of writing at the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London.
7. See Willette 1986, Colton 1987, and especially Ferdinando Bologna's entry on Bernardo De Dominici in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 33.

8. Nappi 1990; Delfino 1984, 1986, 1987.
9. DA, July 21, 1616; see De Vito 1988.
10. DA, March 1, 1653; Sandrart 1925; Palomino 1986, p. 140.
11. Capaccio 1634, vol. 2, pp. 863–64; for Giacomo de Castro see De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 3, pp. 66–67, 581–82.
12. As early as 1608, Doria referred to Azzolino as “compare,” a term of familial affection; see Pacelli 1980, p. 29, n. 22.
13. DA, January 23, 1618; February 13, 1618; February 20, 1618; March 6, 1618; April 12, 1618; and May 1, 1618. Perhaps the payment made to Ribera on October 26, 1618, by Pier Capponi and Cosimo del Sera (see DA for that date), relates to the painting commissioned by the grand duke.
14. For example, DA, October 13, 1618; October 2, 1620; and October 5, 1620.
15. DA, December 20, 1630. Monterrey became viceroy of Naples in May 1631.
16. DA, May 7, 1636, and April 20, 1637. See Felton 1986.
17. De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 3, p. 116.
18. DA, February 12, 1618; alternatively, it may represent payment for the three paintings of saints that Ribera is recorded as having painted for Osuna in a letter from Del Sera to Cioli, written three weeks earlier, for which see DA, January 23, 1618. The paintings referred to are probably identical with three of those at Osuna, for which see Finaldi 1991.
19. DA, January 23, 1618, and March 6, 1618. See Finaldi 1991.
20. “Joseph de Ribera Hyspanus de familia suae excellentiae commorans in regio Palatio” (DA, January 27, 1646).
21. DA, February 11, 1631.
22. DA, October 7, 1649; September 22, 1650; June 20, 1651; June 23, 1651; and September 6, 1651. A fragment of another letter, perhaps a first draft of a letter written to Antonio Ruffo, is on the back of a drawing in the Uffizi (10098 S; the so-called *Christ Recognized by the Apostles*).
23. DA, December 11, 1618.
24. Martínez 1950, p. 100.
25. DA, October 7, 1649; September 22, 1650.
26. Ribera and Caterina Azzolino were married between November 11 and December 25, 1616, in the parish church of San Marco dei Tessitori.
27. DA, May 3, 1626.
28. DA, after September 6, 1651.
29. DA, after 1630. The document was published by Faraglia (1892), who thought that it dated from 1626. Trapier (1952, p. 31) and Felton (1971, pt. 1, p. 28) followed Faraglia; Spinosa (Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 85) imprudently declared that in 1626 Ribera was “entrusted . . . with the appraisal of a canvas painted by Paolo Finoglia for the Certosa di San Martino in Naples (certainly the *Circumcision* in situ).” In fact, the appraisal includes seventeen works, including both frescoes and oil paintings, and corresponds to the works in the Cappella di San Martino in the Certosa. The document must date from between 1630 and 1635 because Stanzone was in Rome from 1625 until 1630 and Finoglia was in Conversano after 1635.
30. DA, June 13, 1641.
31. Sandrart 1925, p. 278.
32. Martínez 1950, p. 99.
33. Bellori 1672, p. 216; Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 4, pp. 70–71; De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 3, pp. 111, 119–21.
34. DA, January 23, 1618.
35. DA, May 3, 1626.
36. DA, November 10, 1616.
37. DA, November 7, 1617.
38. De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 3, p. 143; and see vol. 4, p. 126. Also see the biography of Luca Giordano published by Ceci in 1899, p. 166.
39. Parronchi 1980, pp. 40–41. The work was begun in late February 1618. Reference is made to it in an unpublished letter from Vincenzo Vettori, Florentine agent in Naples from 1620 to 1626, to the grand duke’s secretary, Andrea Cioli (Archivio di Stato, Florence; Mediceo 1402, July 24, 1620). The letter also mentions another figure in wax that Vettori was presenting to Cioli: “Havendo cavata dalle mani al famoso Giulio di Grazia, che fece il Giudizio di Paride per Sua Altezza Serenissima, una delle sue figurine di cera, non ho saputo bene meglio collocarla che nelle mani di Vostra Signoria . . .” (Having managed to acquire from the celebrated Giulio di Grazia, who made the Judgment of Paris for His Serene Highness, one of his small figures in wax, I could think of no more fitting place to put it than into Your Lordship’s hands . . .).
40. Unpublished letter from the secretary of the duke of Alcalá to the duke’s agent in Naples, Sancho de Céspedes, October 3, 1634:

Su Excelencia holgaría mucho de tener algunos días en Palermo a Julio de Gratis el que labra de cera para que le labrase alguna cosa i para verle hazer el Azul Ultramarino como ya le hizo otra vez delante de Su Excelencia en Napoles en castelnovo, tratarlo con el Sancho de Cespedes Advirtiendole que ha de ser con much gusto del giulio asegurandole que se le dara para la benida i vuelta que el tiempo que aquí quisiere detenerse se la dara posada i todo lo nezessario i quando se buelva se le regalara muy a su satisfacion i si pareciere assentar primero lo que ha de ser se le podría offrezzer cien ducados si se le tubiese un mes i ducientos si se tubiese dos i esto demas de pagarle la venida y buelta i toda la costa de lo que se tubiere si quisiere venir. Se le odra advertir que traiga algun poco de lapis lazuli que no se si hallara aquí.

(His Excellency would be very pleased to have Giulio de Grazia, the man who works in wax, in Palermo for a few days so that he might make something for him, and to observe him making the Ultramarine Blue, as he did before in His Excellency’s presence, in Naples in Castel Nuovo. Sancho de Céspedes should arrange it with him, ensuring that everything be to Giulio’s satisfaction, assuring him that he will be compensated for his outward and return journey and that for the time he wishes to remain here he will be given lodgings and everything else that is necessary and when he returns he will be rewarded to his satisfaction; and if first he wishes to confirm what he will receive he can be offered a hundred ducats if he stays for a month and two hundred if he stays for two, and this in addition to payment of his return journey and all his expenses if he chooses to come. He may be well advised to bring a little lapis lazuli because I’m not sure if it can be found here [Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional; MS. 9883, fols. 154v–155r]).

Giulio de Grazia’s response must have been conditional, because in early November the duke of Alcalá wrote to Céspedes saying: “He visto lo que rresponde Julio de Gratis i ya os dixé que en proponerle la venida habia de ser hallando el mucha conveniencia i con comodidad en ella” (I have seen what Giulio de Grazia replies and, as I already told you, in proposing his visit here it should be to his convenience and advantage [fol. 179r]).

41. Ruotolo 1982, p. 35. As early as 1610, Giulio de Grazia's name appears in connection with Azzolino's when the latter cedes a credit note for 200 ducats (given to Azzolino by Lanfranco Massa, on behalf of Marcantonio Doria) to Giulio, for which see Pacelli 1980, p. 29, n. 22.
42. DA, November 3, 1641; August 13, 1642; and April 14, 1644.
43. Archivio di Stato, Naples (hereafter ASN); *Monasteri Soppressi* 2142.
44. ASN, *Monasteri Soppressi* 2142, fols. 40r–40v; fols. 42r–42v; fol. 44r; fols. 46r–46v; and fols. 52v–53r.
45. DA, June 20, 1651; June 23, 1651; and September 6, 1651.
46. DA, June 29, 1655.
47. See Pérez Sánchez 1981.
48. De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 3, pp. 140–41. The object of Don Juan's seduction would appear to have been a niece and not a daughter of Jusepe de Ribera.
49. DA, December 12, 1652.
50. DA, September 16, 1647.
51. DA, May 1, 1618.
52. DA, 1626.
53. DA, January 29, 1626.
54. In the portrait of Magdalena Ventura.
55. DA 1638. Dr. Eléna Postigo Castellanos of the Universidad Autónoma in Madrid (author of the interesting study entitled *Honor y privilegio en la corona de Castilla* [Almazán, 1988]) informs me that it was normal procedure for those from little-known families who aspired to a Spanish knighthood to be asked for a "cursus honorum," which usually included as a primary element a "familiatura" of the Inquisition. This was a formal statement of adherence to the Holy Office. The document quoted in DA 1638 may, in fact, represent part of the request for such a "familiatura."
56. "Ce mémoire avoit pour objet de s'informer si dans la diocèse D'Ausich [sic] il ne se trouvoit pas alors des personnes de nom de la Rivière, que l'Espagnolet auroit voulu associer à sa famille pour en tirer plus d'éclat" (Mariette 1851–60, vol. 3, p. 273). For François Langlois, called Ciartres, see Brown 1989.
57. "De nobili genere procreatus" (DA, January 29, 1626).
58. Prota-Giurleo 1953, p. 114; Magdaleno 1980, vol. 1, p. 469; see also De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 3, p. 141.
59. De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 3, pp. 137–39.

From Játiva to Naples

JOSE MILICUA

ON A DATE that cannot be determined with exactitude but that certainly falls between November 1616 and February 1617, Jusepe Ribera contracted to marry a daughter of Giovan Bernardino Azzolino, a Sicilian painter who for a quarter of a century had lived in Naples, where he enjoyed prestige and a wide clientele.¹ Ribera was twenty-five, and his wife, Caterina Azzolino, was not yet sixteen. We do not know how long Lo Spagnoletto (a nickname he was already known by) and his future father-in-law had known each other, but there is no reason not to suppose that their relationship was recent in formation and that it followed Ribera's arrival in Naples from Rome, where he is last documented in May 1616. Nonetheless, the possibility cannot be excluded that their acquaintance went back to an earlier, undocumented trip by Ribera to Naples. In any case, the marriage to Azzolino's daughter marks the beginning of a new stage in the life of the Valencian painter. The change occasioned by his move to Naples and his abandonment of the bohemian life that he had enjoyed in Rome are pointed out by his first biographer, Giulio Mancini, in a text written about 1620: "[In Naples] he married one of his [Azzolino's] daughters and, doing various works with his usual felicitous manner, he was introduced to the viceroy. As a result, he lives in that city, still spending his usual amount and that extra that a wife and honourable appearance at court necessitates; nonetheless, having left the wastrels [*sparapani*], given his speed of working together with his handling of paint [*colorito*] and good judgment, his earnings are enough to maintain the splendour of his life."²

This essay deals with Ribera prior to his move to Naples, but it should be noted that the change mentioned by Mancini was a biographical and social one and has no bearing on style. There is, indeed, a continuity between what Ribera painted in Rome and what he would paint "with his usual felicitous manner" during his early years in Naples, and it is no easy task to distinguish between Ribera's style before and after his arrival.

If we take as a comparative point of reference 1952, the year in which the tercentenary of the artist's death was commemorated, it becomes apparent that the research of the last few

decades has produced very significant clarifications of Ribera's activity in Italy before he arrived in Naples in 1616. We now know that the move from Spain to Italy had occurred by 1611, the date of the *Saint Martin Sharing His Cloak with a Beggar*, which he painted for the Church of San Prospero in Parma (the work has been lost, but copies and an etching have been preserved; see fig. 2). Yet our knowledge of Ribera's pre-Italian period is still almost nonexistent: We know nothing certain about him from the time of his birth in Játiva in 1591 to his appearance in Parma in 1611. This leaves much room for conjecture, but since not all the hypotheses that have been formulated have taken into proper account the known facts, these should be examined in some detail.

First of all, it must be emphasized that the parish documents from Játiva referring to Ribera and his family, which were published in 1924 by Gonzalo Viñes,³ are absolutely trustworthy. Some scholars, such as August Mayer and Neil MacLaren, expressed reservations regarding the reliability of these baptismal and marriage documents.⁴ However, apart from the fact that a careful study would have led to accepting them with confidence, various other documents have subsequently come to light which definitively corroborate that the Játiva documents refer to Ribera the painter and not to some unknown person of the same name. Documentation discovered in Rome by Jeanne Chenault⁵ informs us that for a period of time Lo Spagnoletto was joined in Rome by two of his brothers, Jerónimo and Juan, names that in fact appear on the baptismal certificates from Játiva for the future artist's older and younger brothers (born 1588 and 1593, respectively). And if that incontrovertible verification were not enough, a curious genealogy that was uncovered by Baron de San Petrillo⁶ and dated 1638 by a notary of the Secretariat of the Inquisition resident in Játiva identifies the shoemaker Simón Ribera as the father of the *insigne pintor* (celebrated painter), confirming what we already knew from the parish records of that city.

Lo Spagnoletto, then, was not the son of Don Antonio Ribera, the Spanish army officer stationed in Naples, as Bernardo De Dominici would have it,⁷ nor was he of noble lineage as



Fig. 2. After Jusepe de Ribera, *Saint Martin Sharing His Cloak with a Beggar*. Plate 33 from *Indicazione di alcune celebri pitture parmensi* (1725). The Hispanic Society of America, New York

asserted by Palomino and often repeated since then. He was, rather, born into the family of a shoemaker, the trade attributed to Simón Ribera in the oldest of the cited documents that refer to him, that of his marriage in 1588 to Margarita Cucó, his first wife and the mother of Lo Spagnoletto. He is also described as a shoemaker in his second marriage (1597) and in his third marriage in 1607 to the daughter of another shoemaker.

It should be remembered that Játiva — the Iberian Saiti, the Roman Saetabis — is a city with a long history; raised to an episcopal see during the Visigothic period, conquered by the Moslems in the tenth century, it is the oldest documented (about 1147) center of paper manufacture in Western Europe.⁸

But its prosperity was founded on its splendid farmland, which had the same social organization from the time of the Christian reconquest (1239) to Ribera's day: a large number of Morisco vassals, distributed among the surrounding villages, and Játiva, the seat of local power, with an old Christian population (but also a *morería*, or ghetto, for recent converts; it has been estimated that in 1600 there were some eight to twelve thousand inhabitants, a sixth of whom were Moriscos).⁹ In addition to farming, the Moriscos also specialized in certain trades; Valencian and Aragonese texts of the time cite footwear — makers of leather shoes and espadrilles — as among the most characteristic. Fernand Braudel quotes the lapidary phrase of the archbishop of Valencia, (Saint) Juan de Ribera, the zealous promoter of the expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–11), who said, when he saw them leaving: "Who will make our shoes for us now?" There is no better summary of the special social connotations that this kind of work had in the Levante, the east coast of Spain.

The most likely course for an artisan's son pursuing an apprenticeship in painting — one who showed early signs of exceptional talent, as Ribera undoubtedly did — was an initiation in his native city followed by some years of work with a master in Valencia, the provincial capital and artistic center of the region, before undertaking the great adventure of a trip to Italy. However, it has also been suggested in the literature that Ribera went to Naples at a very early age because his family moved there.¹⁰ This thesis is supported by two parish documents in Naples, one of which cites, with no further qualification, a Simone Rivera and his wife, Vittoria Bricchi, who baptized their daughter there in July 1602, and the other of which cites a Simone de Ribera (possibly the same person), a Spaniard, who in June 1605 married the Spanish woman Vittoria Azevedo in the same city. When the Neapolitan scholar Lorenzo Salazar published these documents in 1894,¹¹ it was known that Lo Spagnoletto's father was named Simón, but the previously mentioned data from the parish archives of Játiva had not yet come to light. It was therefore plausible to cautiously propose an identification of Ribera's father with that Simone Rivera or de Ribera. But with the solid information on the obscure Valencian shoemaker now in our possession, this identification now seems highly improbable. This is surely a (double?) case of homonyms, and it is not the only one of this kind that has led to confusion in studies on Ribera.¹² It is noteworthy that at that time in Naples Ribera was not an uncommon name. It was the family name of people of the highest rank, including viceroys, the count of Olivares (it was his mother's family name), and the duke of Alcalá — with all the consequent gathering of relatives with the same name around them — the admiral Fran-

cisco de Ribera and the actress Antonia Ribera (who caused so many problems for another viceroy, a protector of Lo Spagnoletto, the count of Monterrey), and others whose biographies escape us but who are buried in the churches of Santiago, Monteoliveto, and Santo Spirito and are mentioned in registry documents.

Játiva was the home of the Borjas, or Borgias (Calixtus III and Alexander VI, the only Spanish popes except for the antipope Benedict XIII, were born there), among other distinguished families, and it once had an artistic patrimony much richer than the one it now possesses. Its architecture suffered a severe blow with the demolition ordered by Philip V in retaliation for the city's having favored the archduke Charles in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–15). Equally or even more unfortunate was the massive destruction during the Spanish Civil War of more than two hundred altarpieces and paintings that made Játiva a museum of primitive art, as Elías Tormo entitled his study of this subject.¹³ This means that those works Ribera knew from his childhood, which must have affected him deeply, have disappeared; they were works by or attributed to Jacomart, Rodrigo de Osona, the Perea Master, Nicolás Falcó, Yáñez de la Almedina, Juan de Juanes—all of them artists who drew upon that vivifying Italian vein that has nourished the painting of the coast of Spain. These names also make it patently clear that in this field Játiva was an appendage of the city of Valencia, situated some fifty kilometers away. The shoemaker's son must have gone there at an early age to initiate or continue his apprenticeship as a painter.

That Jusepe Ribera would go to work in the capital is not only a logical deduction, it is also supported by information concerning his brother Juan, about whom only two biographical notices subsequent to his birth are known: in 1616 he was in Rome, living with his brother Jusepe, and in 1622 he appeared in Naples, again living in his brother's house. The Neapolitan document containing the latter bit of information¹⁴ concerns the marriage of Elvira Azzolino, Lo Spagnoletto's sister-in-law, and Michele Geronimo Adott, a Spaniard from Valencia and physician to the marquess of Santa Cruz. Juan Ribera intervened as a witness for Adott, declaring that he himself was a "Spaniard of the city of Valencia" and that he knew Adott "as a compatriot, who lived on the same street in Valencia." In this document we learn that Juan, too, was a painter, which leads us to believe that he worked with Lo Spagnoletto and was a member of his studio, a very productive workshop about whose composition and functioning we really know so little. Juan Ribera's statement clearly implies a long residence in what he says is his native city. And since everything else we know about him—his profession, his presence in Rome and in Naples—suggests

that he followed in Jusepe's footsteps, we can assume that they also lived together for a time in the city of Valencia. Having lost their mother and then their stepmother at an early age and undoubtedly having relatives in the capital (Simón Ribera and his father came from the suburban district of Ruzafa), perhaps they left Játiva while still quite young.

Palomino, whose *Lives* was published in 1724, was the first to write that Lo Spagnoletto had been a pupil of Francisco Ribalta. This notion was undisputed (except implicitly by the spurious story of De Dominici and those who repeated it) until the middle of our century. Nothing seemed more logical, in fact, than to accept an idea that established a direct connection between the two greatest personalities of the seventeenth century in Valencia (although one was an immigrant and the other emigrated elsewhere). But a brief analysis of Palomino's text shows that his information was extremely deficient. Whereas he assures us that Francisco Ribalta "studied the art of painting in Italy; some say in the school of Annibale [Carracci], but more in the works of Raphael," in another passage he includes "Ribalta the Valencian" among the Spanish painters who became famous without having to study in Italy.¹⁵ After the passage of a century and with practically no intermediate scholars in the field, the period seemed so dim to Palomino that he placed the death of Francisco Ribalta "about 1600" (the real date is 1628), when he was "of a very advanced age," thereby making him older than Juan de Juanes, the artist who had so profoundly influenced the local painting of the generation prior to Ribalta and who had died twenty years before the latter's arrival in Valencia (Palomino placed the death of Juanes "about 1596, when he was barely fifty-six years old"). This enormous distortion of such basic historical facts is only one of the reasons obliging us to mistrust the Spanish Vasari with regard to the specific information that now concerns us. Still, there is reason to consider that he may have received it from a trustworthy source, for example, his conversations with Luca Giordano. This is not easy to verify, but in the final analysis what really matters is something else: can specific links be detected between Ribera's painting and that of Francisco Ribalta or any other artist active in Valencia during the first decade of the seventeenth century? Mayer and Tormo gave an affirmative response to this question, believing that the Ribalta-Ribera connection is supported by the evidence of style. However, we are now more familiar with the evolution of Francisco Ribalta,¹⁶ who only after 1615 entered his last and highest phase, one that justifies including him among the great Spanish painters of his century. It is a phase in which—parallel to his precocious son Juan and perhaps stimulated by him—Francisco begins to show the results of the fertile contact with the naturalistic,

Caravaggesque current that has led even the most competent critics to argue whether a painting like the *Ramón Llull* in the Barcelona museum should be attributed to him or to Velázquez in his Sevillian period (in my opinion, the issue is not yet settled). The Ribalta with whom Ribera would have worked adhered to the heterogeneous Mannerist style of those painters who worked in the Escorial, with hints ranging from Sebastiano del Piombo to engravings from the North, none of which appears in the production of his presumptive pupil. The affinity between the two should be sought in more general characteristics: expressive rigor, intensity, and a certain inclination toward a direct approach to reality, traits typical of Mannerism as practiced at the Escorial and a more reformed style. They appear very early in the work of Ribalta. But these traits are not uncommon to other Valencian masters of the time, such as Vicente Requena and Juan Sariñena. On the other hand, when we consider the realist orientation of a young Valencian of the time, we must also remember the paintings recently brought from Italy by the archbishop-patriarch Juan de Ribera, which included a *Martyrdom of Saint Mauro* by Giovanni Baglione and especially a copy of the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* by Caravaggio.¹⁷

It is in no way surprising that Ribera's later production¹⁸ does not permit us to infer his first steps in painting. This is, in fact, frequently the case among the young foreign painters in Rome who converted to the naturalist *novus ordo* of Caravaggio. In that conversion, all signs of their former stylistic identities were considerably weakened or canceled out altogether. To cite a concrete example, this occurred to such significant French artists who were contemporaries of Lo Spagnoletto in Rome as Valentin and Simon Vouet. And with others, even determining their country of origin is problematic—for example, the so-called Master of the Judgment of Solomon and the "Pensionante del Saraceni," whose real names we do not even know, and Cecco del Caravaggio, who has been considered Flemish, French, or Spanish and who, it seems, is really an Italian.¹⁹

We have no evidence as to when or by what route Ribera came to Rome. It is, of course, possible, even probable, that he made the trip via Naples, where for the first time he could see original works by Caravaggio (and Caravaggio himself) and come into contact with such followers of the master as Carlo Sellitto and Filippo Vitale (more than Caracciolo), and with his future father-in-law, Azzolino, who was also curious, albeit at a distance and intermittently, about the naturalist vein.²⁰ But at present neither documents nor stylistic analysis allows us to infer a long stay in Naples as a kind of formative or updating period before going to Rome. The date of his voyage to Italy has to be close to 1608–9. Our earliest evidence of his presence in Italy is 1611, when, in June, he received payment for the *Saint Martin*

Sharing His Cloak with a Beggar, painted for the Church of San Prospero in Parma. The document reveals that at the age of twenty Ribera was already a painter held in high esteem, a foreigner who, in a center like Parma, with its rich artistic tradition, was entrusted with the realization of an altar painting on public view. This work by the young Spaniard would be repeatedly praised in the local literature, reproduced in prints, and included among the best paintings that could be seen in the city. The very fact that the French under Napoleon added it to their rich pictorial booty is clear evidence of how highly it was valued.²¹ But the most outstanding proof of esteem is contained in a letter written in 1618 by Lodovico Carracci, the dean of great living Italian painters of the day. In it he refers to "those painters of excellent taste, particularly that Spanish painter who holds fast to the school of Caravaggio. If he is the one who painted a Saint Martin in Parma and stayed with Sig. Mario Farnese, one should be on guard and keep one's wits lest poor Lodovico be consigned to the provinces."²² Aside from the unusual praise, the letter is valuable for informing us that Ribera had enjoyed the protection of a member of the ducal family of Parma. The challenge that Lodovico Carracci joked about was apparently taken more seriously by other colleagues, and Mancini explains that Ribera "while still quite young, having journeyed through Lombardy to see the work of those able men . . . finding himself in Parma, he aroused the jealous fear in those who served His Highness [Ranuccio Maria Farnese], that, coming to the notice of that prince, he might be taken into the latter's service, causing them to lose their positions; for that reason they forced him to leave."²³ Later, referring to jealousy among painters, Malvasia mentioned briefly, as if it were common knowledge, the "obbrobrioso affronto" (scandalous insult) that Lo Spagnoletto suffered when he was in Parma.²⁴

Unfortunately, the original *Saint Martin* has disappeared, and the copies and engravings are not sufficient to give us a full idea of the painting that brought early fame to Lo Spagnoletto. Not until the final stage of his life, with the *Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria*, would the Valencian master paint another horse, which appears to move toward the viewer somewhat obliquely, according to a compositional formula with some old antecedents for this subject. But if we compare Ribera's picture with earlier paintings that present similar images of horses—works by Pordenone, El Greco, Rubens, and even Ribalta, in his *Saint James the Moor-Killer* in Algemesí, which Ribera could have seen—this robust horse in Parma is distinguished by the naturalness and elegance of its gait and by a light that, together with the realistic drawing of the beggar with the wooden leg and crutch and the figure type of the young saint wearing a cap, seems to reveal a certain familiarity with Caravaggesque painting. Ribera's

stay in Parma, then, would not have been a stop on the way from Spain to Rome but rather a journey undertaken later, after his arrival in Rome. In the article cited above, Michele Cordaro has also suggested, on the basis of the relationship between Mario Farnese and the sculptor Francesco Mochi, that Ribera and his Parmesan protector probably met in Rome.

Regarding Ribera in Rome, attention must be called to an important chronological fact that has not been mentioned in the relevant literature until now. Thanks to the research of Jeanne Chenault, we now know about three archival documents that refer to Ribera's presence in Rome.²⁵ Two of them are from parish registries (*Status Animorum*, a census of residents regarding their observance of Easter) and certify that in April 1615 and March 1616 "Giuseppe Riviera of Valencia" lived in a house on the Via Margutta, the typical painters' street in Rome, in the company of other persons, among them, as I have indicated previously, his brothers Jerónimo (in 1615) and Juan (in 1616). It should be noted that Giulio Mancini records in his *Considerazioni* that Ribera had problems in Rome with the authorities because he had not confessed at Easter "more through neglect," he says, "than bad intentions," which leads us to assume that he must have been living there in 1614 or before, since the documents of 1615 and 1616 certify precisely that in those years he had observed Easter. The third document is from the archive of the Accademia di San Luca and states that on May 7, 1616 (the last known date of the painter in Rome), "Giosephe Riviera" gave the academy "as alms promised at other times, two scudos," the payment of a debt that leads to the assumption that the painter was already preparing to leave for Naples.

Now, neither Chenault nor anyone else I know of has noticed that G. J. Hoogewerff published this document from the Accademia di San Luca more than half a century ago. What is more, at the same time the Dutch scholar reviewed another unpublished document from the same archive by means of which we learn that Ribera was already living in Rome in 1613. This is an announcement of a meeting to be held on October 27, 1613, and it reads as follows: "Please be so good next Sunday, the 27th, at eight o'clock as to present yourselves to the academic congregation in San Luca to conclude the most useful things for our church." In the list of invited guests we find "Josefo de Riviera."²⁶ This extends the documented time of Ribera's Roman period, especially since the document, which indicates that he was a member of the academy at the time, seems to imply a residence of some duration.

Regarding Ribera's stay in Rome, Mancini wrote a brief but illuminating eyewitness account only some four years after the artist left the city. He begins by affirming that a disposition

such as his for the profession had not been seen there for many years; given the number of talented painters at work in the papal city at the time, this constitutes truly extraordinary praise. When he arrived in Rome, Ribera "worked for a daily wage for those who have workshops and sell paintings through the labours of similar young men," but "comporting himself well, he made his talents known, and came into a great reputation with a very great profit." Guido Reni "thought a good deal of his determination and handling of paint [*colorito*], which for the most part follows the path of Caravaggio, but is more experimental and bolder." And although "when he wanted to work he earned five or six scudi a day," his laziness and free spending, his "extravagant ways," and his debts forced him to leave Rome for Naples. The narration by Mancini that we have summarized concludes by indicating that "he made many things here in Rome, and in particular for ***, the Spaniard, who has five very beautiful half figures representing the five senses, a Christ Deposed and others, which in truth are things of most exquisite beauty."

Thanks to Roberto Longhi,²⁷ in 1966 the stupendous series of the Five Senses was identified (the *Sense of Taste* in the original version, the other four in copies), marking a fundamental advance toward the recovery of the artist's work of the second decade of the century—the Ribera of Rome and the early years in Naples, a period that, until Longhi, had been practically unexplored. Although some scholars have expressed reservations, these Five Senses are undoubtedly the same series praised by Giulio Mancini and therefore belong to the Roman period, no later than 1616. The catalogue of Ribera's work of that decade is now fairly large. In addition to other previously unknown works, it includes those that for some time had been attributed to Ribera but that were not recognized as definitely his. Only now do conditions allow us to ascribe these works to Ribera with certainty. This has occurred, for example, with the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* in the Galleria Pallavicini in Rome (fig. 3), and, astonishingly, with the *Saints Peter and Paul* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Strasbourg (cat. 8), a magnificent signed painting whose attribution to the Spanish artist had been repeatedly denied due to the limitations of our knowledge.²⁸ Among the scholars who have contributed to our understanding are Ferdinando Bologna and Nicola Spinosa. The restoration of the paintings in the Colegiata of Osuna and their publication by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez²⁹ have been of special importance. Still, a firm chronological sequence within that period has yet to be established.

The Five Senses had been assigned an approximate dating of 1615–16 based on the aforementioned documents. But now, with Ribera's presence in Rome amended to at least 1613, the possibility that this series is earlier must be entertained, challenging

the groundless idea that Ribera adopted this splendid naturalistic style after the Northern Caravaggisti with whom he formed friendships and whose approximate dates of arrival in Rome are known. Baburen arrived about 1612–13, Honthorst about 1610–12, and the Frenchmen Valentin and Vouet arrived about 1613–14, as probably did the Master of the Judgment of Solomon and Cecco del Caravaggio.

The Five Senses are admirable both for their superb pictorial qualities and for their absolutely innovative iconographic treatment (apparently for the first time in European art, this traditional allegorical theme is resolved in a naturalistic key, with highly polemical accents, such as the onion cut in half instead of the flower to symbolize smell). They impress us with their elevation of ordinary people from the poor districts to protagonists who are captured with truthful individuality, expressing a range of moods and humors, from the heartbreaking pathos of the blind man to poverty borne with smiling unconcern. If any paintings are related to the picaresque literature of the time, to the “taste of garlic and onions” (as Longhi said of a certain kind of Spanish painting), it is these. Allied to this straightforward approach is a learned touch: we have in this series, if I am not mistaken, the first telescope represented in a painting, a telescope that seems copied from reality, with its gold incrustations meticulously described. Perhaps it is more than mere coincidence that Galileo, who was the friend of painters and who had recently invented his revolutionary instrument, was in Rome in 1611 and again in 1615–16.

Recent literature on Velázquez has paid scant attention to the problem of his possible connection, in his early stages, to Caravaggesque painting. In the latest monograph, for example, the matter is disposed of in a few lines.³⁰ Prior to the clarification of Ribera's activity during the second decade of the century, the Osuna paintings were considered his earliest known works. Aside from the fact that only one of them, the *Crucifixion*, was generally accepted as original, their chronology seemed, and in fact is, irrelevant to an examination of Velázquez's formation. The same is not true of the Five Senses, however, whose powerful, direct manner of painting presents the closest analogy to the early Velázquez. This series was painted for a Spaniard (and in Spain, in fact, several old copies are preserved), and its dating means that the paintings could have been available to the infallible eye of the future painter of *Las meninas*. And what is true of the Five Senses is, to some degree, also true of other pieces by Ribera at the time, such as the splendid *Democritus*³¹ (cat. 7) or the *Saint James* that belonged to the antiquarian Böhler of Munich and whose recognition as a work by Ribera is due to Ferdinando Bologna.³² The *Saint James* wears a cloak lit by a shaft of light that makes it a worthy companion to the *Saint*



Fig. 3. Jusepe de Ribera, *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*. Galleria Pallavicini, Rome

Thomas by Velázquez in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Orléans. Certainly nothing had been painted in Italy or Spain that announces more closely the style of the supreme Sevillian painter in his early years. I believe that an unpublished *Smiling Geographer* (fig. 4) can be added to this group of canvases by Ribera, especially in comparison with the *Democritus*. The picture is known to me only through a mediocre photograph that bears the stamp F.111 Manzotti, Piacenza; the dimensions indicated are 110 by 85 centimeters. If we consider conception, quality, the modeling of the face and hands, the beautiful still life, and expressive content, an attribution to the Valencian master during his time in Rome or at the beginning of his stay in Naples seems clear.

Prudence dictates leaving until after the exhibition, which will facilitate direct comparisons, the delicate problem of the *Deposition of Christ* cited by Mancini, which I am more and more inclined to identify with the beautiful *Burial of Christ* in the Louvre.³³ This would mean that in Rome Ribera had already achieved a high degree of compositional mastery and dramatic



Fig. 4. Jusepe de Ribera, *The Smiling Geographer*. Whereabouts unknown

intensity comparable to his most celebrated later creations. There is even greater reason to postpone any reference to the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, an important invention by Ribera, known in the past through multiple unsigned copies. Recently, two more versions have appeared (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City; Trafalgar Galleries, London), which some scholars believe are by the artist himself.³⁴ Not knowing them *de visu*, I should abstain from expressing an opinion regarding this last point. Nevertheless, studying photographs of the works confirms my old impression, obtained from some of the copies, beginning with the one in the Vatican Pinacoteca, that the original redaction must belong to the Roman period and is, perhaps, the oldest from this time that we know today. The composition is organized on the front plane, with a few motifs arranged in a circle around a central void and little internal unity between forms and expressive content. It is a composition of a certain crudity and rigidity, which in itself points to its being an early work. Some of those motifs appear indepen-

dently in other, surely later works by Ribera: we find the man carrying wood transformed into a wine bearer in the *Drunken Silenus* of 1626 (cat. 16), and the face covered with warts connects him to the engravings of 1622. The saint, in a transport of ecstasy—perhaps inspired by Reni—is certainly almost interchangeable with the *Saint Sebastian* in Osuna, which led Spinosa to place the creation of the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* to about 1618.³⁵ The old man in profile and the woman facing front appear in the *Jesus Among the Doctors* in Vienna, and the old man alone, also in profile, figures in the *Burial of Christ* in the Louvre. More useful for an inquiry into chronology is the motif of the reflection of fire on the face, a type of experimentation with light found in Venetian painting. The possibility that Ribera had already seen an example in Spain cannot be excluded (in the *Boy with a Firebrand* by El Greco, which was in the possession of the patriarch Juan de Ribera, or in some work by Ribalta inspired by Luca Cambiaso), but it was in vogue among such Caravaggesque painters in Rome as Elsheimer, Saraceni, Honthorst, and others. It is a motif that Ribera would not touch on again, except in the *Ixion* (cat. 26). Finally, we wish to point out a Caravaggesque echo: the placement and posture of the boy gathering up the deacon's garments seem to point to Caravaggio's *Flagellation* in Naples, but his physical type testifies to the earlier, Roman work of Caravaggio.

Concrete references to Caravaggio are rare in Lo Spagnoletto, and, not surprisingly, they appear at the time when Caravaggio's impact was at its height. Perhaps the most moving of these is in the *Saint Matthew* (cat. 12) that was unpublished when shown in Naples in 1989.³⁶ In this painting—although freely adjusted by the artist to his own purposes—Ribera unmistakably evokes the first *Saint Matthew* that Caravaggio painted for San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, which the young Valencian had probably admired in the home of Vincenzo Giustiniani, a prestigious client who would later cite Ribera in a famous letter about painting in contemporary Rome. Our ignorance regarding the early years of one of the greatest painters bred by Spain and Italy is so considerable that we must console ourselves with these shreds of information until more significant discoveries are made.

1. See Ferrante 1979; Ferrante 1988; De Vito 1988, pp. 175–77. Ribera was already in Naples in July of 1616; the contracts for his marriage are dated November 10.
2. Mancini 1956–57, p. 249; translation from Felton 1991b, p. 81.
3. Viñes 1924.
4. A. L. Mayer, under "Ribera" in Thieme-Becker, vol. 28 (1934), pp. 232–36. In Mayer 1942, the last publication in which Mayer referred to the issue of Ribera's birth, he indicated, with some question, the date

- 1591 and said that Ribera was apparently of a noble family. MacLaren 1952, p. 55, and MacLaren and Braham 1970, p. 91, have "1591(?)"; also Milan 1951, p. 82, under "Ribera" has "nato . . . intorno al 1590."
5. Chenault 1969.
 6. San Petrillo 1953.
 7. De Dominici 1742–45, while being the principal source of the history of Neapolitan painting in the seventeenth century, is, in actuality, dangerous to use due to the large amount of erroneous data it contains. For instance, it states that Ribera was born in Italy—in Gallipoli—but that he proclaimed himself Spanish in order to ingratiate himself with the rulers of Naples.
 8. Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York, 1974), pp. 153, 473; Oriol Valls, *La historia del papel en España, S. X–XII* (Madrid, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 133ff.
 9. Fernand Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II* (Mexico, 1953), vol. 1, p. 640. Regarding the Moriscos, there are abundant references to Játiva in: Pascual Boronat, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (Valencia, 1901); T. Halperin Donghi, "Un conflicto nacional: Moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia," in *Cuadernos de historia de España* (Buenos Aires, 1955); H. Lepeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris, 1960); and Joan Reglá, *Estudios sobre los moriscos* (Valencia, 1964).
 10. Cordaro 1980; Sarthou Carreres 1952, p. 157.
 11. Salazar 1894, pp. 97–100.
 12. I refer to the evidently erroneous identification of Lo Spagnoletto with the person cited in a document from 1630 with the name "D. Gio: de riviera Canco [canonico]" (see Chenault 1969). With regard to homonyms, I will indicate another case: a Jerónimo de Ribera wrote a sonnet in Tuscan dedicated to Quevedo on the occasion of the great Castilian writer's arrival in Naples (see Elías de Tejada 1958–61, vol. 4, p. 572); the author of the *Sueños* came here, following the new viceroy, the duke of Osuna, in the summer of 1616, more or less at the same time as Lo Spagnoletto. It may be that this Jerónimo de Ribera is none other than Jusepe's older brother, with whom he lived in Rome in 1615, as has been noted above and about whom we have no further knowledge.
 13. Tormo y Monzó 1912.
 14. Prota-Giurleo 1953, pp. 130–31.
 15. Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1947, pp. 527, 875–79.
 16. Benito 1987, with pertinent bibliography; also Ainaud de Lasarte 1947.
 17. See Benito 1980. The date of the arrival in Valencia of these paintings is not certain, but they were acquired by the founder of the cited Colegio Real de Corpus Christi, the archbishop-patriarch Juan de Ribera, who died in 1611. Francisco Ribalta apparently made a copy of the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* by Caravaggio.
 18. I know of only one attribution to Ribera prior to the trip to Italy, advanced with little conviction by Ponz ("they might be"), of certain portraits whose whereabouts are unknown today but were in the Temple de Valencia (Ponz 1772–94, vol. 4, letter 4, paragraph 27).
 19. See Gianni Papi in Florence 1991, p. 205.
 20. See "Battistello e gli altri: Il primo tempo della pittura caravaggesca a Napoli," a dense study by Ferdinando Bologna, in Naples 1991, pp. 15–180. Concerning Azzolino and the echoes of Caravaggio in his painting, see Ferrante 1979 and 1988.
 21. The important date of 1611 was discovered by M. Cordaro (1980), where he includes the Parmesan bibliography relative to the work. In part because of how it is formulated, I do not believe that the following information credited to L. Scaramuccia (1674, p. 174) is reliable: that in the Church of Santa Maria Bianca (subsequently destroyed) in Parma, there were murals by Ribera in a style that was almost the same as Correggio's. Attributions to Ribera abound in old private collections in the city, confirming the painter's local fame.
 22. Letter of Lodovico Carracci from Bologna, December 11, 1618, to Ferrante Carlo, a Parmesan friend residing in Rome, published in Bottari and Ticozzi 1822, vol. 1, pp. 289–91; translation by Marguerite Shore.
 23. Mancini 1956–57, p. 249; translation from Felton 1991b, p. 81. For the text referring to Ribera also see Milicua 1952.
 24. Malvasia 1971, p. 541.
 25. Chenault 1969.
 26. Hoogewerff 1913, pp. 40, 108. The publication of these documentary references has passed unnoticed because of the rareness of the book, which is also dedicated, as stated in its title, to artists and scholars of the Netherlands. Strangely enough, Hoogewerff himself, who thirty years later would dedicate a study to a theme closely related to Ribera (Hoogewerff 1943), did not realize that those documents corresponded in fact to the Spanish painter. Searching for Netherlanders in the archives, of whom he found many, he believed that this "Riviera" (a frequent deformation of the name "Ribera" in Italian documents; we need go no further than what we have seen in the Roman parish registers of 1615 and 1616) also came from the North, and laconically annotated the dates, saying that they possibly referred to a Fleming ("mogelijk von een Vlaming zijn kan"). Such a proposed identification of origin is explained by the existence of an important sculptor of the same name, Egidio della Riviera, the literally translated name by which Gillis Van den Vliete (a native of Malinas who died in Rome in 1602) was known in Italy. The archive of the Accademia di San Luca (according to Hoogewerff's own book) also records, between 1640 and 1675, as an *aggregato* member of the Accademia, a certain Giovanni della Riviera, a gilder and seller of paintings ("indoratore," "bottegario," "rivenditore"), whose name in his native country must have been Jan Van den Vliete or Jean de la Rivière, for on one occasion he is mentioned as "Giovanni Fiammingo." But evidently the documents from 1613 and 1615 refer to Lo Spagnoletto. I am happy at this point to thank my friend, the English Hispanist Philip Troutman, for his help in the study of this question.
 27. Longhi 1966.
 28. Mayer attributed it to Novelli, and Trapier accepted the attribution to Douffet. Recently, Benedict Nicolson (Nicolson 1990, vol. 1, p. 104) classified it generically as of the Neapolitan school and with a false signature of Ribera. In a review of the 1982 Fort Worth Ribera exhibition (Mallory 1983), its attribution to Ribera was rejected with negligible arguments. I believe that this *Saint Peter and Saint Paul* in Strasbourg, of which copies exist in Spain, is probably the same one that had been in the Monastery of the Escorial, registered under the name of Ribera, and that it was given to General Desolles in 1810 during the Napoleonic occupation (see de Andrés 1971, p. 57).
 29. Pérez Sánchez 1978.
 30. Brown 1986, pp. 12–15.
 31. Spinosa 1989, vol. 2, p. 468.
 32. Bologna's attribution to Ribera is indicated by Spinosa, who shares it, in Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 17 (with the incorrect title of *Saint James the Less*). Nicholson 1990, vol. 1, p. 148, catalogues it as being

by the Master of the Judgment of Solomon, with whom, in fact, the painting shows great affinity.

33. This identification seems to have been arrived at by Craig Felton (1976), who dates the work to about 1615.
34. Craig Felton (Felton 1971) suggests that both paintings are Ribera autographs; Bologna (Naples 1991) has attributed the example in Kansas City to Ribera, while Nicolson (1976, p. 536) accepted the one in

the Trafalgar Galleries as original. The catalogue by Spinosa (Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, cat. 273) accepts only the example in the Trafalgar Galleries, which Spinosa believes is a studio copy of a lost original. Evidently it would be very useful to be able to examine the two canvases side by side.

35. Nicola Spinosa, in Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, cat. 272.
36. Piero Corsini, in Naples 1989, pp. 4–7.



Ribera and Neapolitan Painting

NICOLA SPINOSA

IN THE SUMMER OF 1616, Ribera left Rome and moved permanently to Naples, the capital of a southern Italian kingdom ruled by the Spanish crown through viceroys. Although Naples no longer enjoyed the favored conditions that had prevailed during the reigns of Alfonso and Ferrante of Aragon, it was one of the most celebrated and mythical places on the Italian peninsula, for both its rustic beauties and its many associations with ancient culture. Moreover, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, there began an ambitious series of building projects that transformed the city from a medieval town into a vast urban center—one of the largest in Europe—with all of the traits of a modern metropolis. Within the span of just a few years, artists and craftsmen, often of the highest caliber, arrived from all parts of Europe—from nearby Rome and more distant Florence and Bergamo; from Lorraine in northeastern France and from Flanders and the Low Countries—reestablishing that cosmopolitan climate of exchange and intense artistic activity that had existed during the years of Aragon rule.

Caravaggio had stayed in Naples in 1606–7 and again in 1609, leaving behind works of extraordinary intensity that exerted a profound influence on the young generation of painters, provoking a break with the prevailing norms of late-Mannerist and Counter-Reformation trends.¹ With Caravaggio's arrival, the Naples of the Cavalier d'Arpino and Belisario Corenzio, of Lazzaro Tavarone and Girolamo Imparato, was rapidly replaced or, more accurately, counterbalanced by that of Battistello Caracciolo, Carlo Sellitto, and the very young Filippo Vitale, to mention but three artists who produced great altarpieces in the new naturalistic idiom. In the brief period from the first to the second decades of the seventeenth century, these artists progressed with dizzying speed through a sometimes breathless experimentation with Caravaggesque painting, renouncing or distancing themselves from the stylistic preferences of their immediate past.

What with all the building activity, it would have been only natural for Ribera to expect commissions when he arrived in mid-1616.² Moreover, having followed the viceroy, the duke of

Osuna, or perhaps having come at the duke's invitation (he may have known the duke in Rome, where Osuna was Spanish ambassador to the Holy See), Ribera found extremely favorable conditions for employment by the local nobility, particularly the Spanish aristocrats and entrepreneurs who resided in Naples (on this, see the essay by Pérez Sánchez in this volume). Ribera also came in contact with those artists who had been carrying out their own experiments after the example of Caravaggio, with results that were similar in their luministic intensity and bold naturalism to those that he had arrived at during his stay in Rome.

However, as events would have it, the beginnings of Ribera's long activity in Naples coincided with an incipient crisis in the naturalistic experiments of the preceding decade. Carlo Sellitto died prematurely in 1614, having produced only a few canvases that reveal a convincing and unambiguous adhesion to Caravaggio's naturalism.³ Battistello Caracciolo, whose *Liberation of Saint Peter*, of 1615, in the Church of the Pio Monte della Misericordia reveals the influence of Orazio Gentileschi, left Naples in 1616 for Rome, Florence, and Genoa, following a path that led back through Annibale Carracci to Bronzino and other Tuscan artists of the preceding century in a vain effort to recapture the formal elegance and compositional sumptuousness characteristic of Mannerist art. After 1620, he returned to Naples, where he painted works that, despite distant echoes of Caravaggio, are conspicuous for their studied monumentality and an increasingly abstract, unreal beauty: works that are openly antinaturalistic and rigorously neo-Mannerist, with the appearance of deliberately composed reliefs of precious but gelid polychrome marble. His was the ultimate, extremely refined voice of a waning period of rarefied pictorial intellectualism, which, precisely because of its rare intensity and exclusiveness, was destined to remain an isolated event, without sequel. Aside from various foreigners, mostly northerners from Flanders and Lorraine, only Filippo Vitale remained from the early generation of Neapolitan Caravaggesque painters.⁴

Thus, at the moment Ribera arrived, hoping to find an ample arena for the vigorously naturalistic style he had worked

out in Rome alongside Dirck van Baburen and the anonymous Master of the Judgment of Solomon, Terbrugghen and Gerard Douffet, such local artists as Belisario Corenzio or Ribera's future father-in-law, Giovan Bernardino Azzolino, had almost completely returned to the assured success of the styles that preceded Caravaggio's tempestuous example. Theirs were decorative paintings, lacking in new ideas and yet very popular. To Ribera, whose eyes and mind were still fresh with those superb examples of painting as "truth" provided by the sorrowful humanity of Caravaggio's canvases in Santa Maria del Popolo and San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, Naples must have seemed to lag seriously behind; this despite the fact that Caravaggio's *Seven Acts of Mercy* in the Pio Monte della Misericordia and the *Flagellation* in San Domenico provided consistent reference points for his vision. Ribera surely responded to the chiaroscuro and modern naturalism of the Caravaggesque works of Battistello, Sellitto, and the young Vitale, and it must have seemed to him that these works were strangely ignored by other Neapolitan painters.

In Naples, Ribera's path could not help but be the same as in Rome, where, with his "companions of the street"—most of them, like himself, young foreigners—he had made fun and revelry in the area of Via Margutta and the Campo dei Fiori, the Via della Croce and Piazza del Popolo. Like him, these painter-companions had found in the example of Caravaggio the means of giving a quality of concrete reality to their subjects and an air of truthfulness to the most hidden aspects of the mind, sometimes pushing their results to a heavy physicality and ruthless realism. So intertwined is the late Roman phase of Ribera's activity with his early Neapolitan years that it is difficult to assign a precise date to the half-length figures of apostles and philosophers of various dimensions and the canvases with the martyrdoms or visions of saints that are placed by most critics in the Neapolitan period. There are, indeed, almost no differences of style between the *Five Senses* (cats. 2–5), stated by Mancini to have been painted in Rome for a Spanish collector, and the *Democritus* (cat. 7), the apostles from the Girolamini in Naples (cats. 9–11), the paintings done for the duke of Osuna (cats. 13, 14), the *Saint Bartholomew* in the Galleria Pallavicini, Rome (fig. 3), the *Saints Peter and Paul* at Strasbourg (cat. 8), the *Saint Matthew and the Angel* (cat. 12), and the *Flagellation* and *Saint Andrew*, also in the Girolamini. The compositional format is the same—even in the most fully developed of the pictures. The use of a natural light to define depth, volume, and the vigorous forms or to probe the crude rigor of the expressions is the same. And the shiny, refined compactness of the paint structure is the same. Moreover, in these works there is already visible that firm, defining line

acquired through long study of the antique and the masters of the High Renaissance, a line that seems to forecast Ribera's achievement in drawing and printmaking. These interests—foreign to the Caravaggisti in Rome—also mark Ribera's subsequent work.

His repertory was already well defined: solid images of old men, rendered wise and kind through the hardships they have suffered, with deeply wrinkled skin and hands knotted from work; beggars dressed in old, torn clothes, whom grief and battles have not deprived of authentic feelings and profound sentiments; impudent youths vexed by the difficulties and delusions of life; figures of everyday life; protagonists in that theater of truth that plays itself out to all and sundry in one of those crowded and miserable corners of the city. They are the people of Naples posed as saints and philosophers without losing the traits of their actual condition, possessing a real integrity. At other times, they give life to scenes of punishment and martyrdom that have the tragic immediacy of a snapshot taken in a humbly furnished dive crowded with the poor or in a tavern during a brawl or knife fight between drunks, ragged men, and good-for-nothings: images of real people, sometimes crude and brutal because that is one aspect of the human condition, but always made completely believable through the sheer quality of Ribera's brush and the immediacy of the visual data it describes. There is no concession to genre and no stooping to the merely grotesque or terrifying, which is what De Dominici and Romanticist critics (as well as some modern ones) unjustly accused Ribera of.

These images follow one after another with no clearly established order for more than a decade, almost to the end of the 1620s. In them can be traced an expansion of means and an empathetic participation in the human condition of the protagonists: the old saint brutally martyred; young, still beardless deacons clinically tortured; the sinister executioner who proceeds with almost trivial indifference with quartering or skinning someone; the youth called from a nearby tavern to lend a hand; some idle passerby who has stopped out of curiosity to take in a scene that has little out of the ordinary for him.

Without precise documentary references or other chronological data, any convincing sequence for Ribera's works prior to the mid-1620s remains problematic. This is particularly true for the most naturalistic and Caravaggesque pictures done at the end of his Roman period and the beginning of his move to Naples.⁵ However, thanks to the recent publication of the date of the famous but severely damaged *Crucifixion* at Osuna (cat. 14), painted during the early months of 1618 for the wife of the viceroy, we can now begin to make some distinctions. The *Crucifixion* reveals new, rigorously geometrical solutions, with



Fig. 6. Jusepe de Ribera, *Trinitas Terrestis, Saint Bruno, and Other Monastic Saints*. Appartamento Storico del Palazzo Reale, Naples

strongly three-dimensional forms arranged in parallel planes and effects of changing light on precious fabrics (somewhat in the manner of the Caravaggesque painter Bartolomeo Cavarozzi). Similar traits can be found in two versions of the *Penitent Magdalen* (one in the Chigi Collection, Rome,⁶ and the other in a private collection, Florence), in the *Pietà* in the National Gallery, London, and in the *Saint Sebastian Ministered to by the Holy Women*, of 1621, in Bilbao.

When Ribera arrived in Naples he was not automatically assured prestigious commissions for churches or other public buildings: not until the early 1620s did he receive the commission for the paintings for the Trinità delle Monache (fig. 6; see also cats. 17, 18). However, he did obtain important commissions from the viceroy and certain Spanish nobles—men like

the presumed duke of Lerma misnamed in the archival records—as well as from Italian merchants and collectors. In addition to the commissions he received in 1618 from the grand duke of Tuscany, who had invited Battistello Caracciolo to Florence in the early months of that same year, it is worth mentioning that by June 1616, when Ribera had barely settled in Naples, Prince Marcantonio Doria—intimately connected with Ribera's father-in-law, Azzolino—paid him for a *Saint Mark* belonging to a now-dispersed series of Evangelists (the last payment was made in November 1619). The *Saint Matthew and the Angel* (cat. 12), which cannot be dated later than 1617, has recently been linked to this series. Doria already possessed various canvases by Battistello and in 1618 commissioned that artist to paint some frescoes in his country residence in Sampierdarena. In August 1620, the prince paid Ribera for a *Guardian Angel* and for a *Pietà*, now lost.⁷

Significantly, Doria was the patron of the Franciscan convent of the Trinità delle Monache in Naples. About 1620–21, he had marble from Carrara and Sampierdarena sent for the interior of the church, which, during that same period, was decorated with frescoes by Azzolino.⁸ In September 1621 Ribera received some 40 ducats from the nuns of the Trinità to purchase the colors necessary for painting what was probably the *Saint Jerome and the Angel of Judgment* (cat. 17), intended for the altar in the chapel at the Epistle, or south, side of the high altar, and the large altarpiece with the *Trinitas Terrestis, Saint Bruno, and Other Monastic Saints* (fig. 6), with a small canvas above depicting *God the Father* (cat. 18), for the Gospel, or north, side of the high altar. The *Saint Jerome* was not painted until 1626, while the *Trinitas Terrestis* was perhaps painted shortly after 1626, but in any case before 1630–31.

Ribera's contact with the prince was probably a result of Azzolino's intervention. The latter was obviously interested in furthering his future son-in-law's prospects with the most important Italian clients, and it seems clear that the resulting relationship placed the young Spaniard at an advantage in Neapolitan circles. But even more significant is the fact that the choice of Ribera (as of Battistello, who was then still untouched by the antinaturalist crisis of the 1620s) came from a patron of Caravaggio during the last dramatic months of that painter's life. Doria had commissioned that tragic masterpiece, the *Martyrdom of Saint Ursula* (Rome, Banca Commerciale Italiana),⁹ which, together with other late works by the Lombard master, constitutes the immediate precedent for a brand of naturalism that Ribera pushed to an unexpectedly high level of merciless realism in his early Neapolitan canvases. Evidently this sort of work was much appreciated by the noble Genoese.

And so, while Ribera had no immediate "official" commis-

sions for public buildings, he still made a rather grand entrance into Neapolitan circles and was far from unnoticed. Indeed, shortly after his arrival, Filippo Vitale drew upon Ribera's work for his *Guardian Angel* in the Church of the Pietà dei Turchini, particularly for the vigorous image of Satan at the lower left.¹⁰ Paolo Finoglia, who has recently been recognized as a precocious follower of Caravaggio,¹¹ seems also to have been aware of the importance of Ribera's presence in Naples and to have followed his example, turning from the shifting chromatic embellishments of his formative years with Ippolito Borghese to a Caravaggesque use of light. Finoglia's lunettes in the Certosa di San Martino, with their vigorous, monumental Zurbarán-like images of the founders of the monastic orders, can be better understood in terms of their reference to the naturalism of Ribera's early Neapolitan period than as the inspiration of the work of Antiveduto Gramatica, who was active in Naples about 1620.

Ribera's work did not seem to undergo profound changes in the years immediately following 1618–20, at least insofar as it is documented by some etchings, by the badly damaged *Ecce Homo* in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid,¹² and by the 1624 altarpiece in Weimar (fig. 7). In the altarpiece, in which the emphasis is on formal geometry and parallel planes—elements common to all of Ribera's paintings from this period—there are signs of a more refined use of light, particularly in the figure of Saint Bruno, who later appears in an identical manner in the large altarpiece painted for the Church of the Trinità delle Monache (see fig. 6). This figure also suggests a hypothesis that cannot be documented, namely that there already existed a connection between Ribera and the monks of the Certosa di San Martino, as the marblelike whiteness, the vigorous modeling, and the intense, communicative emotionality of the figure constitutes a clear and immediate precedent for the sculpture of Cosimo Fanzago in the Certosa.

In 1626 Ribera signed and dated a group of key works: the *Saint Jerome and the Angel* in the Hermitage (cat. 15), which presents a summation of past experiences and is still conceived in terms of strong lights and darks, with a compact arrangement of forms within restricted spaces; the *Drunken Silenus* (cat. 16), a modern reinterpretation of the ancient myth seen through the eyes of a great naturalist but realized almost as an homage to ancient sculpture, with refinements of a Hellenistic taste that overturn his previous portrayals of the real, everyday world without indulging in the grotesque or satirical aspects of the theme; and the *Saint Jerome and the Angel* for the Church of the Trinità delle Monache (now in the Capodimonte; cat. 17), almost a counterpoint in a *chiaro*, or light, key to the other, slightly earlier version of the same subject.



Fig. 7. Jusepe de Ribera, *Madonna with Child and Saint Bruno*. Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar — Schlossmuseum-Kunsthalle, Weimar

The *Saint Jerome* for the Trinità delle Monache is exceptional in its pictorial sumptuousness. The expansive monumentality of the image, which finally breaks through the parallel planes within which Ribera's figures were previously contained; the incredible consistency of the color, enhanced by an increasingly dense application of the paint and a brighter, enveloping light; the extremely beautiful, Caravaggesque angel, a youthful messenger sent to reawaken a consciousness made lazy by the torpors of senescence; and finally the extraordinary still-life details—a precedent for Neapolitan still-life painting—announce further developments along Ribera's path of naturalism.

Such calm and detachment should not be looked for in the various martyrdoms of saints and episodes from the life of Christ painted between 1626 and 1629 (cats. 19, 20). In these compositions the artist depicted the violence of man against man, giving visual form to the conflict between spirit and matter, nature and history, and dream and reality. Using strong slashes of light and shadow and dynamic contrasts of resplen-

dent materials and gloomy tones, Ribera participates more sorrowfully in the drama of the event.

For an altar of the Church of the Trinità delle Monache, which from the mid-1620s had been the focus of a program of interior decoration, Ribera painted, in addition to the *Saint Jerome*, the *Trinitas Terrestris* (fig. 6). The altar, like the marble decoration elsewhere in the church, had been entrusted to Cosimo Fanzago, who had worked at the Certosa di San Martino, testifying to the close ties between the two nearby monastic complexes. Cleaning of this vast composition has revealed an unprecedented beauty that makes it easy to understand why the picture has frequently been dated to about 1635. But even setting aside the fact that all the other works in the church are documented to 1630–31, the lighter tonality and atmospheric light, as well as the use of colors—even more concentrated and brilliant than those in the *Saint Jerome*—can be seen as part of a continuing process of renewal. These features did not, however, sway the artist from his preoccupation with the concrete reality of people and things and the description of their feelings and emotions. The affinity of the figures with those in the Weimar altarpiece (fig. 7), no less than the creation of a space rigorously contained between parallel planes, confirms a date in the late 1620s. It follows that the light and color grow out of the *Saint Jerome* of 1626 rather than anticipate the intensely pictorial solutions of the paintings of the 1630s, with their extraordinarily luminous, Mediterranean beauty.

Among the pictures belonging to this phase are the so-called *Archimedes* (cat. 22); the Apostle series (*Saint Andrew*; cat. 23); the *Saint Roch* (cat. 24); the superb 1632 *Saint Matthew* (cat. 29); and the realistic but touching depiction of the “true” and astonishing story of *Magdalena Ventura*, with her thick beard and infant son at her breast, painted in 1631 (cat. 25). This phase culminates in *Jacob with His Flocks* in the Escorial (cat. 28), of 1632. Recently restored, the painting now shows an unanticipated luminosity: colors of sun-filled beauty that would be inexplicable without the example of Giovanni Battista Castiglione and the concurrent revival of interest in Venetian art in Rome and elsewhere.

Those painters who had resisted Caracciolo’s neo-Mannerist phase or who rejected the attractions of Guido Reni’s classicism in order to reaffirm the claims of the true and the natural did not remain indifferent to Ribera’s work of the 1620s. Indeed, for the younger generation of painters, often from provincial or peripheral areas of the kingdom, Ribera’s vigorous affirmation of the real world, both physical and emotional, provided a reference point for a renewed commitment to the presentation of the concrete truth of things and the exploration of the human condition.

Filippo Vitale, who belonged to an older generation, played a central role as mediator of Ribera’s naturalistic solutions.¹³ This despite De Dominici’s claims that, from the mid-1620s, every painter of naturalistic tendencies spent some time in Ribera’s increasingly crowded and successful workshop, including Aniello Falcone and Francesco Fracanzano, to mention two of the better-known names. Not only Neapolitans or southern Italians, but “foreigners” as well, passed through his workshop, including Juan Ribera, who had been with his brother in Rome. Eduardo Nappi has uncovered an important early document that confirms Juan’s presence and his otherwise unknown activity as a painter in Naples. Also worthy of mention are another Spaniard from Valencia, Giovanni Dò, who came to Naples in 1623 and about whom there has been a certain amount of confusion,¹⁴ and the Fleming Enrico Semer (or Somer), who was already in Naples around 1624.¹⁵ It was a close-knit group of painters, often united by family ties—by blood or marriage—and often witnesses to important events in each other’s lives (marriages, baptisms, the signing of wills, and so forth); they had relationships extending beyond the professional and their shared interest in a naturalistic style. Recently, Ferdinando Bologna, writing on the occasion of an exhibition of the work of Battistello Caracciolo, has brought forth a wealth of information suggesting an even more complex situation than that formerly believed.¹⁶ For those interested in this labyrinth, it is necessary to refer to Bologna’s contribution. Here it must be noted that almost contemporary with Ribera, in the mid-1620s, there was one of the greatest exponents of Mediterranean naturalism, who lent support to Ribera and his circle. This was the still anonymous Master of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, who must someday be called by his true name, Bartolomeo Passante (fig. 8).¹⁷ Passante took Ribera’s early naturalistic technique to its extreme limits, using an even thicker impasto that, by means of vigorous and rough brushwork, seems to expand, swell, or contract on the canvas in a manner not found in even the most rigorously realistic of Ribera’s paintings. The surface of his pictures is as though kindled by bright flashes or extinguished by thick, bituminous shadows. It is painting that, above all, attempts to fix raw states of mind and emotions and is even more authentic and immediately communicative than Ribera’s in its evident contact with the urban working class and with people exhausting themselves day after day in the harsh labor of the fields or herding sheep—farmers and peasants from the plains or the plateau of Puglia and the sullen or diffident shepherds from the Abruzzi mountains and from the extremely wild area of Irpinia. In addition to Aniello Falcone, whose extraordinary *Schoolmaster* (formerly Spencer collection) seems to derive from the vigorous, rough style of this heretofore anonymous master,



Fig. 8. Master of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, *Annunciation to the Shepherds*. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich

and Francesco Guarino, in his early paintings for the ceilings in Solofra and in Sant'Agata,¹⁸ the name of the young Velázquez, at the time of his first sojourn in Italy, has sometimes been invoked. However, Velázquez was intent upon another path—shaped by the revival of interest in Venetian art—that was quite different from his earlier, naturalistic work in Seville, with its possible reflection of those first examples of Ribera's painting. To explain those masters of impasto, it is necessary to turn not only to Ribera of the 1620s but to the Master of the Annunciation of the Shepherds.

In the 1630s, Ribera began creating work of completely new, intense beauty, without, however, renouncing those earlier naturalistic tendencies. This more painterly work dispenses with any obliging nod to the classicism of Guido Reni—a debt that some recent critics, particularly in England and America, continue to insist upon without justification.

By 1632–34, Ribera entered a phase of activity marked by an increasingly luminous pictorialism that would define his work for the rest of his life. A succession of canvases, as well as drawings of equally luminous intensity, bears witness to his recognized stature as a great European painter of both modern

(that is, naturalist) and classical Mediterranean culture. This moment represents an abrupt shift. As has been already noted, it does not signify a rejection of Ribera's emphasis on naturalism and effects of light but indicates a profound rethinking of certain aspects of the accentuated severity of his earlier work. Ribera neither goes beyond nor abandons his commitment to truth of observation. But having reached the more moderate and reflective years of his maturity, he responded to the necessity of translating the external realities and the world of feelings with a new naturalness and new pictorial methods.

On a qualitative plane, the phase that opens in late 1634 or early 1635 lasted at least until 1642/43, when Ribera was forced by serious illness¹⁹ to alternate moments of intense, brilliant activity with long intervals of inactivity, increasingly assisted by a growing number of modest collaborators. It was in 1635 that Ribera, the undisputed protagonist in Naples of a style combining naturalism with the exuberantly pictorial work of the Baroque, signed the immense altarpiece with the resplendent and extraordinarily human image of the *Immaculate Conception* (fig. 17) for the large marble retablo designed by Cosimo Fanzago for the Church of Las Agustinas Recoletas in Salamanca.²⁰ The

work, commissioned by the count of Monterrey, viceroy of Naples from 1631 to 1637, is almost an homage to Van Dyck, who painted the same subject during his years of activity in Genoa and Palermo. But Ribera's altarpiece is marked by a new, exultant intensity, with a natural-seeming, dusty, atmospheric Mediterranean light that expands, unrestrained, into the celestial space. This light both envelops the forms and embellishes them, enhancing the work's formal elegance and coloristic splendor. Indeed, so great is the originality and modern sensibility of the *Immaculate Conception* that any debt owed to its illustrious precursors is fully redeemed.

One might have supposed that the next step would be the illusionistic and fantastic Baroque that was soon to invade the domes, vaults, and ceilings of churches and palaces, first in Rome and then in every other part of Italy and Europe, for in the *Immaculate Conception* are to be found those pictorial solutions — already present in a less-developed stage about 1630–32 — that in those same years heralded the advent of Baroque art in Rome. In fact, critics have long acknowledged the parts played by the warm, expansive sensuality of Rubens's canvases and by the coloristic richness of Van Dyck's works and those of his Italian followers (among whom were Castiglione and Il Monrealese). Critics have pointed as well to the renewed interest in Titian and Paolo Veronese promoted by those artists working in Rome in the cultivated and refined environment of Scipione Borghese, Maffeo Barberini, Cassiano del Pozzo, and the Aldobrandini — above all by such artists as the young Pietro da Cortona, Andrea Sacchi, Nicolas Poussin, and Pierfrancesco Mola.²¹ But Ribera found in this neo-Venetian movement in Rome, and in Van Dyck, simply a confirmation of what he had already learned on his own through the study of Titian and Paolo Veronese, whose pictures he had perhaps studied in his youth in Rome and seen again recently with changed eyes and heart. There was, however, an essential difference. Unlike his contemporaries in Roman circles, Ribera did not adopt the broad, fantastic, and illusionistic manner of the nascent Baroque style.

This difference can be seen not only in the canvases carried out for Salamanca between 1634 and 1636 but even more so in the intense, luminous compositions of the immediately succeeding years, among which the two interdependent versions of *Apollo and Marsyas*, one in Naples (cat. 41), the other in Brussels, are worthy of mention. In these, the extremely tense mood of the violent myth and its pitiless physical and psychological contrasts are invoked by an impetuous cascade of forms and colors: of dark or brilliant surfaces and images infused with divine elegance or shattered by insupportable grief. The *Blessing of Jacob* in the Prado (cat. 44), with its psychological counterpoints of emotion, captures a domestic interior during a hot

Mediterranean afternoon.²² The sad tale of *Venus and Adonis*, in the Corsini collection in Rome, translates the idyllic emotions and amorous sentiments associated with the myth into an epic song of passion played out in a flood of midday light on resplendent fabrics. In the *Dream of Jacob* (cat. 54) or *The Liberation of Saint Peter* (cat. 55), both in the Prado, a natural landscape



Fig. 9. Cosimo Fanzago, *The Prophet Jeremiah*. Church of Gesù Nuovo, Naples



Fig. 10. Interior of the Church of the Certosa di San Martino, Naples



Fig. 11. Jusepe de Ribera, *Obadiab*. Museo e Certosa di San Martino, Naples (detail)



Fig. 12. Jusepe de Ribera, *Noah*. Museo e Certosa di San Martino, Naples (detail)

setting and an interior acquire, on the one hand, an immeasurable space and, on the other, concrete reality through the dusty light that reveals the forms or the restless beating of the wings of the angel, arrested in flight. These last two pictures take us to 1639. In addition to other works of this period, mention should be made of the two splendid *Landscapes* (see pp. 164–65) belonging to the duke of Alba in Salamanca: beautiful for their veracity to nature and for an atmospheric clarity transfigured through the poetic filter of high, idealizing sensibility, equal to or even greater than that of Claude or the young Poussin.²³

In the midst of this period of intense and extremely successful activity, Ribera began his first paintings for the Certosa di San Martino, working in an even closer fashion with Cosimo Fanzago, but also with Giovanni Lanfranco and Massimo Stanzione and those other artists involved with the Baroque renovation of this monastic complex that commands a vast panorama of the Gulf of Naples. The celebrated *Pietà* (fig. 13),

with its depiction of a sorrowful humanity, was painted in 1637 for the sacristy, the walls of which Fanzago was covering with splendid polychrome marble while Lanfranco was opening up infinite spaces on the ancient Gothic vaults. Ribera's first prophets for the interior of the facade and the spandrels of the side chapels (cats. 49, 50; figs. 11, 12, 12a) run from 1638 to 1643. They are recognizably of the same Caravaggesque stock as Ribera's earlier apostles of about 1630 but were carried out in sumptuous colors and lit with another quality of light, revealing a calmer emotional range and congenial tones of domestic familiarity. Imposing in their formal vigor, sumptuous in their compositional schemes (which recall late Mannerist formulas), and solemn in their expressive tenor, these prophets call to mind the contemporary solutions of Cosimo Fanzago's monumental sculpture, with its mixture of a Mannerist, naturalist, and Baroque idiom (fig. 9).

Hailing from Bergamo, Fanzago had come to Naples as a



Fig. 12a. Jusepe de Ribera, *Habakkuk*. Museo e Certosa di San Martino, Naples (detail)

very young man, as had Ribera, and the two had already worked together in the 1620s in the Church of the Trinità delle Monache. In his task of transforming San Martino from a large, Gothic complex vaulted by Dosio in the rigorous, abstract rhythms of Tuscan Mannerism into a masterpiece of the Neapolitan Baroque, Fanzago found himself once again working alongside Ribera.²⁴ He was to do so again, together with Lanfranco and Stanzone, in the Gesù Nuovo and in the Cappella del Tesoro of San Gennaro.

Critics have expressed more pertinent views on the relationship between Ribera and Fanzago²⁵ than on the possible one between Ribera and Guido Reni, which is frequently exaggerated, whether concerning Ribera's youthful work in Rome and Naples or his maturity.²⁶ It is an indisputable fact that in their

choice of formal models and in their elaboration of figures capable of dominating the surrounding space and shaping it with their own monumentality, Ribera and Fanzago show marked affinities. The two artists began from an almost common cultural premise and worked with the same intentions toward the same, interdependent goals: they shared the same naturalistic urge toward expressing the world of visual and emotional experience in concrete terms, using a contrapuntal light and vigorously modeled forms and rejecting the illusionistic fantasies of the early Baroque.²⁷

In 1635 Giovanni Lanfranco moved to Naples, where he worked until 1646—sometimes with Ribera and Fanzago—on vast decorative projects in some of the most important churches. His only moderately illusionistic painting, which, however, did

not imply a negation of visual experience, met with the distinct approval of Ribera and Cosimo Fanzago. This is clear from the two artists' contributions at San Martino, but above all from the large copper panel of *San Gennaro Emerging Unharméd from the Furnace* for an altar of the Cappella del Tesoro (fig. 5), a work begun by Ribera in 1641, but only delivered in September of 1647. This masterpiece of his late period, with its lucid definition of vast, crowded spaces dominated by the statuary presence of the saint and his persecutors amid a riot of light and color, is best understood as an homage to Lanfranco's work in Naples and an implicit recognition of Lanfranco's merits as a great modern painter combining naturalism, classicism, and the Baroque.

Ribera's move toward more exuberant pictorial solutions after 1630 had as great an influence on the work of local painters as his early naturalistic work had. Modern critics, particularly Ferdinando Bologna,²⁸ have already called attention to Ribera's impact on those protagonists of naturalism—the Master of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Francesco Fracanzano, Francesco Guarino, and Aniello Falcone—as well as on those working in a vein of restrained classicism, such as Massimo Stanzione, Pacecco de Rosa, Andrea Vaccaro, Onofrio Palumbo, and others. But what needs to be emphasized is not only that the early work of Antonio de Bellis and Bernardo Cavallino cannot be understood without Ribera's paintings of the mid-1630s,²⁹ but also that it was, above all, the young Luca Giordano who best understood the innovative character of this moment of Ribera's career. Giordano was never a student of Ribera, although he has sometimes been described as such. However, as early as 1652–53, Giordano was inspired by Ribera's canvases to reexamine the very roots of this neo-Venetian moment and to cross the Baroque threshold—something that Ribera refused to do—and take off into that fantastic world of illusionistic decorations that led to the Rococo.³⁰

It was at the beginning of the 1640s, while Ribera still had before him the numerous commitments he had taken on as early as 1638, that he was struck by that serious illness that forced him to delay some works, to abandon others, and to turn with increasing frequency and regularity to his workshop. The result was a great number of paintings that have circulated on the market as Ribera's work—sometimes even bearing a signature and date—but that are only the modest effort of one or another collaborator working under Ribera's direction.

And yet during these same years, when his health allowed, Ribera was able to create exceptional paintings. Among such works are the tender *Penitent Magdalen*, the moving *Saint Agnes* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), the *Saint Mary of Egypt* (cat. 59), all painted in 1641, and the famous *Clubfooted Boy* in the Louvre (cat. 60), painted in 1642. The sunny copper panel of *Saint*

Bruno (cat. 62) dates from 1643, as does the sumptuous *Baptism of Christ* (cat. 61), immersed in the limpid light of a cool morning along the Parthenopean coast. The luminous *Saint Simeon with the Infant Jesus* (cat. 65) is of 1647, and that touching scene of family life, *The Holy Family with Saints Anne and Catherine of Alexandria*, is dated 1648 (cat. 66). This latter work was painted the same year as the superb *Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria* with its backdrop of the Gulf of Naples.

The last years of Ribera's life were made sad and difficult by poor health, vicissitudes of family life, and financial difficulties—elements that made the aged master increasingly sensitive to the human condition and responsive to familial intimacy. In the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Louvre (fig. 15) of 1650, the peasant tone of his earlier treatments (cat. 58) has become a touching evocation of domestic affections and those common bonds of everyday miseries that are confronted with dignity and Christian resignation, without bitterness or rancor.



Fig. 13. Jusepe de Ribera, *Pietà*. Museo e Certosa di San Martino, Naples



Fig. 14. Luca Giordano, *Apollo and Marsyas*. Private collection, Naples

The grand, light-filled paintings of Titian, Paolo Veronese, Rubens in his Italian period, and Van Dyck inspired the weary master, releasing him from momentary anxieties and enabling him to create, with an incredible final effort in 1651, the large *Communion of the Apostles* for the choir of the Church of San Martino (fig. 16). This is the most extraordinary symphony of light and resplendent color that a painter had yet created in Naples or in Italy; it is a work that cedes nothing to the now pervasive Baroque but simply attests with neo-Veronesian intensity to the supremacy of art and painting over the momentary and the fortuitous.

1. The most recent extensive, innovative contribution on Caravaggio in Naples and on the immediate result of his painting locally is by F. Bologna in Naples 1991, pp. 15–180.
2. It is not entirely unlikely that Ribera had been to Naples before, moving from Rome for various brief sojourns. A Spaniard by birth, his purpose would have been to visit the nearby capital of the southern viceroyalty, and to meet and obtain work from Giovan Bernardino Azzolino, a modestly talented painter and decorator but an influential contractor for numerous prestigious artistic undertakings. It is possible that Ribera had already met Azzolino in 1611 in Genoa, where he worked for Prince Marcantonio Doria (and if this is the approximate date of Ribera's arrival in Italy, following the route normally taken from



Fig. 15. Jusepe de Ribera, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Musée du Louvre, Paris



Fig. 16. Jusepe de Ribera, *Communion of the Apostles*. Museo e Certosa di San Martino, Naples

Valencia to Alicante to Genoa, later taken by the young Velázquez as well). In late 1616 Ribera married Azzolino's daughter Caterina. For the new date of this marriage, previously thought to have taken place in mid-September but now thought to date to the middle of the following November, on the basis of new archival findings, see De Vito 1988, pp. 175–77.

3. The most recent critical contribution on Sellitto is by F. Bologna in Naples 1991, pp. 30–38, 262–66.
4. The most recent contribution on Battistello is that of S. Causa, in Naples 1991, pp. 181–253, which takes into consideration the presence in the exhibition of certain paintings that are clearly modest copies of originals by the master (this is the case, for example, of the *Ecce Homo* in a private collection in Bologna), and the fact that many of the new dates assigned to the paintings should be looked at again and corrected. For Vitale, the most detailed, exhaustive, and precise contribution, except for certain perplexing attributions, is by F. Bologna in Naples 1991, pp. 69–116, 276–82.
5. This is true specifically for the Five Senses, recognized by Longhi and by others writing between 1966 and 1973, who, basing their conclusions on the biography of Ribera by Giulio Mancini, date the works to the final phase of the Roman sojourn, between 1615 and 1616. But the works have stylistic differences that are more than marginal, which leads one to suspect that their dating may vary. In any case, it is indisputable that the coarse fellow in the depiction of *Taste*, now in Hartford, is the result of an “appropriation” of the figure of the host in the *Misericordia* altarpiece painted by Caravaggio in Naples for the Church of the Pio Monte, as M. Gregori has indicated (London 1982, pp. 54–55). This would confirm that Ribera had seen the painting by Caravaggio before his move to Naples, most likely during one of his probable visits to that city while he was living in Rome.
6. Published in Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 26, p. 95.
7. Perhaps the *Pietà* can be identified, given the date of execution, with the canvas in the National Gallery in London of the same subject. This has sometimes been thought to have been painted by another hand (Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 411, p. 140; Bologna, in Naples 1991, p. 160, fig. 145, where it is assigned to an anonymous master of the *David* in San Diego, previously thought to be by Ribera, now attributed to Stanzione). Now, after recent restorations and consequent redatings, the work can clearly be attributed to Ribera, somewhere between the execution of the 1618 *Crucifixion* in Osuna and the 1621 *Saint Sebastian Ministered to by the Holy Women* in the Bilbao museum.
8. For more about these works and for the role played by Doria, see Fiordelisi 1899, pp. 181–87.
9. For a related bibliographic updating, see Naples 1991, no. 2.3, pp. 259–60.
10. The pictorial qualities of this painting seem to relate it closely to the numerous powerful figures of apostles, saints, and philosophers painted by Ribera in Rome and Naples, between, approximately, 1615 and 1620. But it would have been even more interesting to see the lost canvas painted by Ribera for Doria in order to determine what other, closer connections existed between two nearly contemporary compositions of the same subject.
11. Bologna, in Naples 1991, pp. 66–69, 290–92, fig. 40, p. 58. Here, Bologna suggests a date of about 1615 for the *Crucifixion* in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, after the *Crucifixion* of 1614 by Sellitto in the Church

of Portanova, Naples. A dating between 1618 and 1620 seems more convincing, since a more certain precedent can be found in the canvas of the same subject painted in early 1618 by Ribera for the duchess of Osuna. Finoglia's altarpiece seems to have drawn upon this work, both for specific compositional details and for those effects of shot colors (silks) which depend certainly from Ribera and not vice versa.

12. Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 27, p. 95.
13. Bologna, in Naples 1991, esp. pp. 128–34.
14. Bologna, in Naples 1991, pp. 128–34, contains new evidence about the painter in Naples (although in this same regard, A. E. Pérez Sánchez also indicates his probable distant Flemish origins in Spain and some precedent in Valencia). Unfortunately, despite the absence of paintings that can be assuredly linked through documentation to this other Spaniard, known for his close ties to Ribera in Naples, Bologna proposes a reconstruction of his activity, attributing, not altogether convincingly, to Dò (as he had reposed the attribution to Dò of the noted *Adoration* in the National Gallery, London, which at various times has been attributed to Velázquez, to Zurbarán, to the young Murillo, and—by Longhi—to Francesco Francanzano) the well-known *Adoration* in the Neapolitan Church of the Pietà dei Turchini on the basis of observations made by De Dominici. But in addition to the absence of documentation beyond this eighteenth-century source, the fact remains that a careful examination of the painting in question (to be compared with the two *Adorations* from the early 1640s in the Escorial [cat. 58], which are signed by Ribera and which, after recent restoration, can clearly be assigned to the artist) demonstrates that, as in other paintings correctly attributed to him, his workmanship never goes beyond that of a good imitator of the late style of Ribera. Therefore it seems correct to reject any such attribution, at least until new and more convincing evidence has appeared, and to view the work as by one of the many, often anonymous collaborators of the aged master. Finally, it should be mentioned that the Croce collection in Philadelphia contains a canvas, unfortunately altered by restorations done long ago, which nonetheless may well be by Ribera's hand; it is a copy of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, which was once attributed to Ribera, then to Giordano, and which Bologna some time ago re-assigned to Giovanni Dò (Naples 1991, p. 134, fig. 87, p. 105). In the Louvre there is another version by the same hand, depicting only the detail of the Madonna and Child (Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 433, p. 142).
15. For a precise reconstruction of the activity of the latter (not to be confused with the homonymous Hendrick van Somer—studied by Hoogewerff—who, after being born in Rome in 1615, is documented as being in Amsterdam at least from 1645 on), see Bologna, in Naples 1991, pp. 164–67; it should be added that the *Saint Jerome* in the Borghese Gallery, Rome, with an apocryphal signature and date by Ribera, would seem to be by the hand of this same Enrico Semer, a Flemish artist working in Naples, who can now be assigned a conspicuous group of canvases painted over a broad period of time and marked by an intense naturalistic beauty and clear understanding of Ribera's course between naturalism and pictorialism. It should not be assigned to the homonymous artist working in Amsterdam, with whom Bologna continues to connect it.
16. Bologna, in Naples 1991, pp. 15–180.
17. For the long-term problem of the identity of this master, with the

- caveat that he should not be confused with Bartolomeo Bassante, who signed a *Nativity*, now in the Prado, that falls somewhere between Cavallino and Antonio de Bellis, see Spinosa 1988, pp. 181–88; Bologna, in Naples 1991, pp. 167–68.
18. For a discussion of Falcone's naturalistic and strongly Caravaggesque work of the late 1620s and for information about Guarino after 1630 (and also for the extensive bibliography), see Naples 1991, pp. 155ff., for the opinions of Bologna, and pp. 314ff., for entries relative to works in the Battistello exhibition, some of which have rather perplexing attributions.
 19. Most documentation about the illness that struck Ribera between late 1642 and early 1643 — perhaps a partial and periodic ailment of the limbs caused by arterial hypertension accompanied by cerebral incidents — comes from correspondence the painter had until his death with various clients, including Prince Antonio Ruffo of Messina, to whom he had to justify the serious delay in delivering certain works; other information comes from the court records of a suit brought by Ribera's heirs against the monks of San Martino.
 20. During the years of his rule (1631–37), the viceroy, the count of Monterrey, called upon various artists in Naples to work on the new Church of Las Agustinas Recoletas under his patronage. Bartolomeo Picchiatti was the architect; Cosimo Fanzago created the large retable in polychrome marble; Giuliano Finelli executed two splendid marble portraits at the sides of the main altar; and, in addition to Ribera, Giovanni Lanfranco and Massimo Stanzione painted works that were integrated with other canvases by various local artists or sent from Naples.
 21. In this regard an essay by Bologna (1952, pp. 47–56) is fundamental in which he first indicates the correlations between Ribera's phase of intense pictorialism, about 1634–35, and the results of "neo-Venetianism" in Rome, and particularly the presence of Van Dyck in the Mediterranean region. Bologna returned to the same arguments in certain pages of his 1958 monograph on Francesco Solimena (see Bologna 1958). His observations have been for the most part accepted by Italian critics but have received scant recognition by foreign critics in the English-speaking world, who still tend to interpret even this phase of Ribera's activity in terms of a prevalent dependency on the luminous style of Guido Reni.
 22. In this painting, as in others by Ribera, from his period in Rome (in the surviving canvases of the *Senses* series, for example), to his late period (particularly in the *Holy Family* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York), the presence of extraordinary still-life fragments suggests the possibility that, as with the landscapes in the two 1639 canvases owned by the duke of Alba in Salamanca, Ribera might also have created some still lifes of natural or domestic objects. This is of importance in terms of later developments of the genre in Neapolitan circles. An investigation from this point of view, of the origins of Giovan Battista and then Giuseppe Recco would certainly offer illuminating arguments on the role played by Ribera and also in terms of Neapolitan still-life specialists, who continued to pursue, albeit with some difficulty, directions inspired by Caravaggio.
 23. Reproduced by A. E. Pérez Sánchez in Naples 1984, vol. 1, no. 2.205, pp. 416–17.
 24. For all the works in the Church of the Certosa di San Martino, between the late Cinquecento and the mid-Seicento, see Causa 1973, which also has a bibliography.
 25. In particular, Spinosa (1980).
 26. For this point of view regarding the relationship between Ribera and Reni, also held by some informed Spanish scholars, see, in particular, C. Felton in Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 54, 60.
 27. For the background and development of Fanzago, see Spinosa 1976, pp. 10–20; M. Mormone, in Naples 1984, vol. 2, pp. 180–83.
 28. Particularly Bologna 1958, to which it is useful to add the arguments that are further emphasized by Spinosa in London 1982.
 29. For additional information on Cavallino and de Bellis, with bibliography, see Spinosa 1990.
 30. For Luca Giordano's Iberian point of departure and for later Baroque developments in his work, see, along with the observations in the monograph by Ferrari and Scavizzi (1966), arguments emphasized by de Castris and Spinosa in London 1982, pp. 61ff. and 86ff.



Ribera and Spain

His Spanish Patrons in Italy and Spain; The Influence of His Work on Spanish Artists

ALFONSO E. PÉREZ SÁNCHEZ

RIBERA WAS SPANISH by birth and always identified himself as such—we know, for instance, that he consistently stated his nationality in his signatures, even including his status as *valenciano* and *setabense* (from Játiva). The fact is, however, that aside from specific documentation concerning his birth, discovered in 1923 by Viñes,¹ all other personal information and documentation relating to Ribera has originated in Italy. It is also true that his life as an artist was lived entirely in that country.

When the Aragonese painter and theoretician Jusepe Martínez visited Ribera in 1625, Martínez questioned him about the reasons for his prolonged stay in Naples and for his reluctance to return to Spain. Ribera's frequently quoted reply indicates an attitude of prudent detachment and a profound understanding of a Spanish reality that in some ways is valid even today, especially in certain aspects of cultural and artistic life. This very expressive text by Martínez is well worth reproducing once again:

Among various conversational topics, I came to ask him how, seeing himself so acclaimed by all nations, he did not consider returning to Spain, for he could be assured that his works were viewed there with great veneration. And his response to me was: "My very dear friend, I desire it very much, but through the experience of many well-informed and sincere persons I find an impediment [to that intent], which is to be received the first year as a great painter, but upon the second year to be ignored because, once the person is present, respect is lost; and this has been confirmed to me by having seen several works by excellent masters of [those kingdoms of] Spain held in little esteem, and thus I judge that Spain is a merciful mother to foreigners but a most cruel stepmother to her own. I find myself well admired and esteemed in this city and kingdom, and my works compensated to my complete satisfaction, and so I take the well-known adage to be true: *Quien está bien no se mueva* [He who is happy, let him remain where he is]."²

And, as it happened, Ribera did remain where he was, in Naples, until he died. Logic tells us, however—and Martínez's words confirm this—that Ribera must have been known in Spain, at least in certain circles, relatively early in his career and that his works were "viewed there with great veneration."

A series of Spanish viceroys, from the duke of Osuna to the count of Oñate, occupies a very prominent position on the list of Ribera's protectors and clients. Through the offices of these important personages, Ribera's canvases quickly made their way to Spain—especially to the Palacio Real in Madrid—and frequently appeared on the inventory lists of noblemen and important officials, usually appraised at very high figures. Those same inventories further inform us of the frequency with which Ribera was copied and of the esteem his pictures (*Saint Jerome*, *Saint Peter*, and *Mary Magdalen*) had earned among collectors and artists.

Ribera's name must have been familiar in artistic circles throughout the seventeenth century, and his works undoubtedly exercised a considerable influence over other artists who were, like him, preoccupied with obtaining, through the immediacy of realistic models and expressive veracity, a completely accessible and comprehensible interpretation of religious experience. The rigorous tenebrism of many of Ribera's works was responsible for their being powerful models imitated in certain devout circles in the Spain of his time. In fact, as we shall see, his depictions of Saint Jerome had a particularly profound resonance in Spanish painting and are perhaps responsible for Ribera's image—which has prevailed to this day—as a painter of elderly martyrs or penitents bathed in the powerful light of tenebrism. Moreover, we should not forget that the image of the Virgin traditionally identified with the genius of Murillo, radiant and luminous and ascending to the heavens amid choirs of angels, owes its introduction into Spanish painting to Ribera's models, which set aside for all time the reserved and silent prototypes that Pacheco, Zurbarán, and the young Velázquez had hallowed during the early years of the century.

For all these reasons, and in order to attempt an approximation of what Ribera represented in the panorama of the seventeenth-century Baroque in Spain, we must take into account several factors that are to a degree complementary and interrelated. Above all, we must consider the painter's personal contact in Naples with the Spanish society that was to foster his reputation on the Iberian Peninsula. We have considerable information about these connections through documents, including scattered firsthand accounts, and recent research has considerably enriched our knowledge of that aspect of Ribera's life and work. The Documentary Appendix contained in this catalogue offers a detailed account of what we know about Ribera to the present day.

Second, the presence of Ribera's works (or works attributed to him) in Spanish collections of the 1600s, as well as notice of copies of his compositions, provides us with the measure of his success and prestige and the extent to which his name was recognized in Spain. Literary references, although not overly frequent, also help document his life and work. Finally, the mark that Ribera's style and models left on subsequent Spanish painting can be traced for a significant period of time.

We know nothing of the circumstances that moved Ribera to undertake his Italian adventure; nor do we know whether he was favored with patronage or other aid in facilitating his journey. Classic biographies tell us nothing of any possible sources of financial backing or of what friends and companions he may have had. Only Jusepe Martínez alludes to the fact that Luis Tristán, the Toledan disciple of El Greco, "was for some period of time in Italy in the company of our great Jusepe Ribera." As we shall see later, this could have occurred only at the beginning stages of Ribera's career, for by 1613 Tristán was back in Toledo. We may conjecture that the two made the journey to Italy together, but we have no inkling as to how and when the two may have met.

During those first years in Italy, we note that Ribera sought the company of other Spaniards. In 1615 and 1616, he shared his home on the Via Margutta with two individuals about whom we know only their names and the fact that they were Spanish by birth: one "Giovanni Calvo" and one "Giovanni Coraldo," both from Saragossa, who may have been, like Ribera, young or aspiring painters.

We are indebted to Mancini for the information that it was in Rome that Ribera painted, for a Spaniard whose name Mancini does not record, the series of the Five Senses and a *Deposition of Christ*—among "molte cose...de esquisitissima bellezza."

In 1616, now in Naples, on the occasion of the *capitulaciones*,

or the issuance of Ribera's marriage contracts, one "Didaco [Diego] de Molina, intendente" appears among the witnesses, which would seem to indicate that Ribera counted among his friends high officials of the Spanish administration even before he had established relations with the man who was to be his principal "Maecenas," the duke of Osuna, viceroy of Naples, who had arrived in the city that same year.

There is a well-known legend—one that must have some historical foundation—of how Ribera was discovered by the duke of Osuna on a day when he had set a painting, the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, outside to dry. Whether or not the episode narrated by De Dominici is true, Osuna and his wife immediately took an interest in the Spanish painter.³

From 1618 we have specific documentation that Ribera was painting a *Crucifixion* for the viceroy's wife, a canvas that has been identified as the one now in the Colegiata in Osuna (cat. 14). This canvas and others still in the Colegiata testify to Ribera's ties with the duke.

It must actually have been a request from the duke that occasioned the curious document of a payment of 300 ducats "dalle spese segrete del re di Spagna" (from the secret coffers of the king of Spain) that Ribera received on February 12, 1618. At that time there was not as yet, as will be clear, any notice taken of the painter's work in Spain, and Philip III was not exactly known for his love of the "modern" style. It is likely that the payment was for some decorative work, such as the banners painted in 1617 for the "duke of Elma's" galleys, probably a reference to none other than the Spanish armada of the duke of Lerma, whose name was erroneously transcribed by a secretary who did not speak Spanish.

Ribera's connections not only were with Spanish circles, but also with Italian Hispanophiles. For example, according to Lodovico Carracci, Ribera had been in Parma with Mario Farnese; the Farneses' fondness for Spain is well documented. The Genoese Dorias, for whom Ribera worked in 1619 and 1620, were also enthusiastic in their affection for Spain.

Naples had traditionally maintained close relations with Valencia, and there had been a large colony of Valencians in Naples since the time of King Alfonso the Magnanimous (r. 1416–58). It is not, then, surprising that on the occasion of the wedding of the sister of Ribera's wife, Caterina Azzolino, we find Ribera's younger brother proclaiming that he was a close friend of the groom, Michele Geronimo Adott: "Whom I recognize as my compatriot, who lived on the same street in Valencia." This same Adott, physician to the marquess of Santa Cruz—with whom the Ribera family is said to have maintained a close friendship—may have been a relative of Giovanni Dò, the painter who in 1616 in Valencia was considered "de

reny strany" (from a foreign country). It is also possible that the same surname was transcribed in different ways by different scribes: Giovanni Dò was married in Naples in 1626, and Ribera was a witness at the wedding.

In 1622, Ribera was in touch with a Giovanna de "Cardinas," the sister of the princess of Squillace. Her real name, Juana de Cárdenas, is incontestably Spanish. The princess, Lucrecia de Cárdenas, commissioned paintings from Ribera and in 1626 paid him a sum of ducats that Ribera—for what reason we do not know—transferred to another Spaniard, Jerónimo de Guzmán.

In 1628 Ribera was paid for canvases to be painted for "Ricevitore Generale Pietro de Ecceveria," that is, Pedro de Echevarría, who was certainly Spanish, and we also find repeated references to Ribera's dealings with the Dorias of Genoa. The year 1630 marks the beginning of Ribera's affiliation with the count of Monterrey, then ambassador to Rome, who commissioned paintings for which he paid Ribera certain sums in advance. This contact would continue through the years, until during his viceregency (1631–38) Monterrey became one of Ribera's major clients.

In 1631 we find records of Ribera's relations with the viceroy, then the duke of Alcalá, for whom he painted, among other works, the famed *Bearded Woman* (see cat. 25). Ribera's contacts with Alcalá, a cultivated and sensitive man, continued after the latter's departure for Palermo to serve as viceroy of Sicily. From there, in 1634 and 1635, the duke wrote to Naples commissioning paintings and engravings and requesting Ribera's counsel in obtaining a well-made, life-size wooden mannequin.

That Ribera's most intimate friends continued to be Spanish is demonstrated by the fact that the godmother of his son Francisco Antonio, baptized in May 1634, was the Neapolitan wife of a Catalan from Barcelona, a Diego Mandríquez (perhaps Manrique?), of whom we know nothing more.

Throughout 1638 and in later years Ribera served the viceroy Medina de las Torres, as is evidenced by the works the viceroy commissioned and by his singular favors, such as making Ribera's son Francisco an *hombre de armas* (man-at-arms) when he was only five, in order that he might enjoy the income and other perquisites and attendant honors. In the decade of the 1640s, during the viceregency of the admiral of Castile, the direct linkage with Spanish authority and its administrators continued through the person of the secretary Gaspar del Arco, with whom Ribera maintained very good relations and from whom he received payment in 1646 for the *Immaculate Conception* painted for the Palazzo Reale in Naples.

The story of Ribera's experience with Don Juan of Austria during the time the prince was in Naples to put down Masaniello's

1647 revolt is pure legend. Today it seems clear that the María Rosa seduced by the prince was not the painter's daughter but his niece, daughter of his brother Juan, who lived with Ribera throughout his lifetime and who undoubtedly collaborated with him in his workshop. Ribera's portrait of Don Juan, still in the Palacio Real in Madrid, and the etching that reproduces it (see cat. 86), testify to the young and impetuous prince's direct contact with the painter.

The tension of life in Naples in those times and the violent repression effected by Don Juan were not conducive to public expression of one's Spanish origins, although there is evidence that Ribera also painted the portrait of the count of Oñate, the last of the Spanish viceroys under whose reign the artist was to live. The last documents concerning Ribera center primarily on his relationship with the Ruffo family of Messina and with the monks of the Certosa di San Martino.

We cannot be absolutely certain as to when Ribera's first work reached Spain. In his manuscript, Mancini left blank the name of the Spanish citizen living in Rome who, during the painter's first years in Italy, owned the series of the Five Senses ("cinque mezze figure per i cinque sensi molto belle") and the *Deposition of Christ*, along with other works, all "of most exquisite beauty."⁴

We may hazard that this anonymous Spaniard carried the paintings with him when he relocated to Seville, for, as will be seen, it may be possible to trace something of the influence of the Five Senses series on the works of the young Velázquez. It is interesting that no work by Ribera appears in the 1623 inventory of the Alcázar of Madrid, but that in 1625, according to the testimony of Jusepe Martínez, who was in Italy and visited the painter in Naples, Ribera's works were already viewed in Spain "with great veneration."

It is very likely that we do not know all there is to know about Spanish collecting during the first half of the seventeenth century, despite numerous published inventories of the collections of the nobility and of small groups of paintings owned by merchants, officials, and individuals with some economic status, particularly in the Madrid of the reign of Philip IV. Beginning with the fourth decade of the century, we find abundant testimony in these inventories of the presence of Ribera's work. Before 1630, such notices are very rare and are found only in Osuna, where, because of a gift by the duchess of that title, we have precise information regarding the receipt of several of the painter's works—even though the documentation, dated April 13, 1627, does not expressly mention the artist's name. On that day, the register of the Colegiata of Osuna states that the ten paintings the duchess had donated to the Colegiata had been received and hung in place. Among them, no doubt, were the

excellent Riberas still displayed there, particularly the *Crucifixion*, of which it was said that “all the income of the chapter and the cathedral works could [not] pay for it.”⁵ The attention given the painting, even in the absence of the artist’s name, was an indication of the esteem in which Ribera was held.

Ribera was already sufficiently well known that a distinction could be made between original works and copies; this is established by an entry in the estate inventory of a Madrid “wool merchant” named Daniel Sabola, appraised on July 13, 1632, by the painter Francisco Barrera.⁶ Included was a *Saint Jerome*, a “copy after el Españoleto,” 1½ varas high and 1¼ varas wide (115 × 100 cm), appraised at 100 reales.

It is interesting that at such an early date we have precise evidence of what was to be one of the most frequently repeated themes in Ribera’s work and of dimensions that would be repeated countless times in his attributed canvases. It is obvious that Ribera had achieved a felicitous iconographic formula in his paintings of Saint Jerome and that his repetitions and copies were quickly accorded a favorable reception.

In 1634 we have the first evidence of a work by Ribera destined for a royal palace. As Brown has indicated,⁷ in June of that year a group of canvases was acquired for the royal collections to decorate the Buen Retiro—not then under construction—and to mark the festivals of Saint John and Saint Peter. From Rodrigo de Tapia a *Satyr* and a *Venus and Adonis* were obtained, and the marchioness of Charela, grandmother of one of the king’s bastards, sold a *Tityus* and an *Ixion* that almost surely are the two in the Prado today (cat. 26).

Two years later, the 1636 inventory of the Alcázar records a pair of canvases by Ribera, *Jael and Sisera* and *Samson and Delilah*; those paintings seem to have been burned in the fire of 1734. It is to these canvases, surely, that Vicente Carducho refers in his brief mention of Ribera in *Diálogos de la pintura* (1633), in which the painter is merely named—along with Rubens, Cajés, Velázquez, Domenichino, and Carducho himself—in a description of the Salón Grande or Salón Nuevo of the Alcázar.⁸

The 1630s coincide with the painter’s mature years, the most fruitful period of his career, as well as with the viceregency of the count of Monterrey (1631–37), one of his most faithful clients and in a certain way his Maecenas, and during these years, at the same time that mention of Ribera’s paintings in the collections of nobles living in Italy multiplies, the number of his works in royal collections also increases.

In 1637 an inventory was made in Seville of the paintings belonging to the duke of Alcalá, who had been viceroy first of Naples, between 1624 and 1631, and then of Sicily. The account includes paintings Alcalá had left in his home in Seville (the Casa de Pilatos) when appointed to serve as viceroy of Naples

as well as those he had entrusted to his majordomo in 1631, on the occasion of a journey to Madrid. The latter paintings were transported in crates, and a detailed inventory indicating precisely in which crate each arrived verifies the exact date of their arrival in Spain. Among them was a significant number of works by Ribera, underscoring the important role this humanist and man of letters must have played in the life of the painter.⁹ Included in the group was a “large canvas of the stripping of Christ our Lord and the placing of Him on the Cross”—believed to be the painting found today in the Parish Church of Cogolludo¹⁰—along with paintings of four philosophers and the famous *Bearded Woman*.

These are the canvases Pacheco refers to in his *Arte de la pintura* (1649), when he speaks of painting from life: “Such is Jusepe de Ribera’s manner of painting that among all the great paintings owned by the duke of Alcalá his figures and heads appear alive, while the rest seem only painted—even though they hang alongside a work by Guido Reni.”¹¹

In 1638 the canvases that Alcalá’s successor, the count of Monterrey, had commissioned for the Church of Las Agustinas in Salamanca arrived (fig. 17). These paintings are among Ribera’s masterpieces in his most luminous and dynamic style. Although the church was far from being finished, the canvases must have been on view in the temporary chapel in Monterrey’s palace in Salamanca, which served as a cloister for the nuns until the completion of the large new church in 1683. In 1676, all these paintings were listed in the inventory of the new convent.¹²

In addition to his paintings, Ribera’s engravings also had wide circulation in Spain. One proof of this is that a mediocre canvas, *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, signed in 1638 by an unknown “Didacus Vazquez,” is nothing more than a copy of a well-known engraving by Ribera signed in 1624.

Many other copies of Ribera’s prints could be mentioned, but none with such precision of date. Of some interest is a painting that copies Ribera’s etching of the *Penitent Saint Peter* (cat. 76); it is signed *Mateito Zerezo* and is currently in the Convent of Las Calatravas in Burgos. If, as seems logical, this is a very youthful work by Mateo Cerezo, who would later become the excellent painter from Madrid who died in 1666, while still very young, we would have yet one more example of how Ribera’s prints helped orient and influence young painters. Mateo Cerezo, himself the son of a painter, was born in 1637; this canvas would have been painted about 1649, that is, when he was approximately twelve years old.¹³

Until 1646 we find no direct references to works by Ribera in the inventories of Madrilenian collections. On December 23 of that year, one Juan Bautista Santolus made a will; he was a painter of modest talent, named with some frequency in docu-

ments found in Madrid, and, despite having been born in Italy, he was a resident of that city. Among his canvases is mentioned "a painting measuring one vara of a coarse fellow holding a glass bottle with a straw casing, copied from el Españolito. I was asked to copy it by a gentleman who paid me two hundred reals. It is documented as mine; should it resemble anyone, give it to that person."¹⁴

This peculiar entry speaks to the prestige of Ribera's name and to the existence of copies of—and, therefore, the growing demand for—his compositions and not only those depicting devout subjects. The painting in question would appear to be one of the Five Senses (*Taste*); we know that the series, as well as the individual pictures of which it was formed, was copied with some frequency.

In 1647 Juan Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera, the duke of Medina de Rioseco and admiral of Castile, died. His inventory reveals one of the richest collections of paintings of his time. Viceroy of Naples from 1644 to 1646, he must have known and valued Ribera, for many of the artist's works were in his inventory.¹⁵

The admiral gave the king "many and select paintings," most of which were hung in the Escorial. Others were installed in the king's chapel in the Convent of San Pascual in Madrid, where they remained until Napoleon invaded Spain, exercising an important influence on the seventeenth-century painters of Madrid. In this royal collection we can identify beyond the possibility of error a curious *Hecate* on copper, today in the Wellington Museum, and, probably, the *Saint John the Baptist* in the same museum in London.

The *Immaculate Conception* (today in the Prado), the *Baptism of Christ* (in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy; see cat. 61), and the *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* (in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts; see cat. 20) all went to the Church of San Pascual. Other canvases from the royal collections that are today in the Prado may also have come from this group of paintings, but the fact that the inventory fails to indicate the dimensions of the canvases greatly complicates identification.

When the count of Monterrey died in Madrid in 1653, there were no fewer than eighteen of Ribera's paintings in his excellent collection.¹⁶ We have already noted that Monterrey was one of the master's principal patrons and, as early as 1638, had installed several of the painter's greatest works in his religious foundation in Salamanca. In Madrid, the count had a special gallery constructed to house his collection, which was open to distinguished visitors and artists.

The count owned several canvases that seem to correspond to works we know today. The *Saint Francis Among the Thorns* and the *Liberation of Saint Peter*, both dated 1642, possibly can be

identified with the works in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden. The life-size paintings of Saint Peter and Saint Paul would be those owned by the Museo de Bellas Artes, Vitoria, dated 1637, and the large *Saint John*, with the subject "on one knee," is probably the painting in the Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań, although we cannot be absolutely certain. Others are more difficult to identify, but we do know that Monterrey owned versions of famous, oft-painted compositions by the master: the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, *Venus and Adonis*, *Saint Sebastian* "tied to an oak," large canvases of *Tantalus* and *Tityus*, and a strange *Naked Deformed Boy*, in addition to the heads of six apostles, a *Saint Onuphrius* "in the desert," and a copy of a *Saint Jerome*.

In 1655, just two years after Monterrey's death, Diego Felipe de Guzmán, marquess of Leganés, another of the century's great collectors, also died. Although the scenes of his public service were Flanders, where he was engaged in major military actions, and the north of Italy, where between 1635 and 1641 he was governor of Milan, Leganés owned an important group of Ribera's works.

Of sixteen canvases by the Valencian master, the majority were the customary half-length saints (*The Penitent Saint Peter*, *Saint Jerome*, *Saint Andrew*, *Saint James*, *Saint Onuphrius*, and *Saint Bartholomew*). There were, in addition, the equally typical busts of philosophers and a *David* that was also probably half-length, since its dimensions were the same as those of a *Saint Bartholomew* that was "a vara and a quarter in height and a vara less *docava* wide" (100 × 60 cm). This canvas, according to the notation in the inventory, had been given to Velázquez during the marquess's lifetime.¹⁷

Along with these "minor" paintings, Leganés's important collection included canvases of sizable dimensions, undoubtedly among the most important in Ribera's oeuvre. We note especially an *Apollo and Marsyas*, the subject of two surviving paintings (cat. 41), as well as one—perhaps this same work—in the royal collections. There were also a *Sleeping Noah*,¹⁸ a *Pietà*, and two different versions of a *Saint Sebastian*. One of these, horizontal in format, 2¼ varas high and somewhat less than 3 varas in width (180 × 220 cm), is believed to be the one in the Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Bilbao. The other, to which very little attention has been paid, was vertical in format, 3 varas high and 2 varas wide (245 × 163 cm), and may be related to the composition in the Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Valencia. Several versions exist,¹⁹ the original of which—most probably the Leganés painting—may not have been previously identified.

The 1666 inventory of the Madrid Alcázar offers a wealth of information regarding the works of Ribera collected before that year. The 1667 edition of Padre Francisco de los Santos's

Descripción de El Escorial facilitates identification of works in that monastery during the same period. King Philip IV had amassed an extraordinary collection, and the inventory compiled after his death attests to his astounding wealth. A sizable selection of the paintings had been conveyed to the Monastery of El Escorial, where they were organized in 1657 by Velázquez. In that year, forty-one paintings in all were sent to the Monastery, including a number by Ribera. The 1666 inventory of the Alcázar does not mention those works. However, thirty-two of Ribera's paintings, as well as several copies,¹¹ were in the Alcázar at that time.

A number of the paintings in the Prado today—and almost all of the major works—were in the Alcázar; it should be noted, furthermore, that the inventory is incomplete, for there are no entries for chambers that we know existed and had been decorated with paintings. In addition to those already in the palace in 1636 (*Jael and Sisera* and *Samson and Delilah*), we find among those destroyed in the fire of 1734 and, therefore, unknown to us a large painting of Plato measuring 210 by 276 centimeters. It must have been an important and complex work, for Philip IV had it hung in the room in which he was to die, as attested to in the inventory of 1686. Other paintings were lost as well: two examples of *Apollo and Marsyas*, one of which may have been the previously mentioned painting owned by the marquess of Leganés; a full-length *Saint John the Baptist* and its pendant, *Saint John the Evangelist*, which also hung in the chamber in which the king died; a large *Ecstasy of Saint Francis*, perhaps analogous to the one in the Escorial; a large *Saint John the Evangelist*, probably composing the *Revelation*—3 varas high and 2 varas wide and a companion piece to a *Saint Onuphrius* of the same dimensions; a large *David Beheading Goliath*, which should not be confused with the small *David* that Leganés had given Velázquez as a gift; an *Aeneas and Anchises*, the same size as the *David*; a *Story of Joseph*, companion to a *Lost Child* by Massimo Stanzione; a *Job Buried in the Dunghill*, which cannot be traced after 1700; and a series of heads of philosophers.

Among the paintings we know well today because of their presence in the Prado were the *Triumph of Bacchus*, which was badly damaged and today is known through a copy, the *Tityus and Ixion* (cat. 26), *Saint Paul the Hermit*, *Saint Francis*, *Saint Jerome* (cat. 70), *The Penitent Mary Magdalen*, and *The Duel Between Women* (cat. 34). The strange *Hecate* on copper in the Wellington Museum in London was owned by the admiral of Castile.

Among the paintings in the Escorial, Padre Santos describes in detail a *Saint Peter and Saint Paul*, probably the one that is in Strasbourg today (cat. 8) and was in the Escorial as early as 1657; a *Saint John the Baptist as a Child with a Lamb*, known through copies; the *Saint James the Great* and the *Saint Roch* currently in the Prado; the *Saint Sebastian Ministered to by the Holy Woman*, today

in Bilbao—undoubtedly the painting that belonged to the marquess of Leganés—and several less significant works.²⁰

Philip IV received gifts from nearly all the viceroys of Naples, and among the paintings was an astounding group of Ribera's works. Almost certainly, more than the *Hecate* came from these sources.

One of the nobles who had given works to the monarch even before 1665 was Ramiro de Guzmán, duke of Medina de las Torres, viceroy of Naples from 1638 to 1643, who died in 1669. The recently discovered inventory of his possessions describes important works by Ribera that also became part of the royal collections.²¹ Padre Santos recorded that in 1667 Guzmán had given the king the *Noli me tangere* by Correggio that is in the Prado, along with "other [works] of equal value." There is not the slightest doubt that other large paintings by Ribera, particularly a *Birth of Christ*, a *Liberation of Saint Peter*, and a *Jacob*, went to the Escorial, probably included among the twenty works Charles II sent there in 1675 or immediately after.²²

Despite all that has been said about the limited intellectual prowess and personal qualities of Charles II, his reign did not in any way contribute to a diminution of interest in the art collections of the crown. There was, in fact, a perceptible enrichment, thanks to fortunate acquisitions and continuing gifts from nobles. In addition, after 1692 the presence in Spain of Luca Giordano would only heighten an already considerable esteem for the work of his master, Ribera.

The 1686 inventory—perhaps the one we know best because it has been extensively published with annotations²³—lists the complete holdings of the Alcázar, including thirty-six paintings by Ribera and two copies of his works. The same works are listed in the inventory of 1700, made upon the monarch's death, in which there is a numbered summary of the collection.²⁴

These two documents list all the paintings that appeared in the 1666 inventory, with the addition of a few new pieces. Of particular importance must have been a large mythological painting that, to judge by its description, had as its subject the death of Adonis, even though it was titled *The Fable of Perseus* ("fable of the dead Perseus, with a goddess wearing a crown of flowers on her head weeping over him"). There were also a *Raising of Lazarus*; a portrait of Juan of Austria, which has by good fortune survived; two paintings of gray horses, related to the *Bay and Chestnut* painted by Velázquez; and a *Saint Francis of Paola*, "on wood," considered to be a copy after Ribera.

The inventory in the royal will of 1700 also records in detail paintings in the Buen Retiro and the Escorial. Nine originals were in the Buen Retiro—some very important, such as the *Tityus and Ixion* now in the Prado, a large *Birth of Christ*, *Venus and Adonis*, *Saint Onuphrius*, the *Saint Paul the Hermit* and the half-

length *Saint Roch* in the Prado—and several copies, among them the series of the Damned, known as the Giants, also in the Prado.

In the Escorial, an itemized list was made of all the paintings in the palace, excluding those in the rooms of the monastery that Padre Santos had described so precisely. In total, there were twenty-three paintings, some well known today, but also unique works that have not survived, such as a “*Disputa* two varas and a quarter high and a vara and a half wide,” and a *Story of Moses* three varas high and two and a half varas wide.

Works by the master continued to be added to the royal collections as late as 1700. In 1693, when Giordano was handed the key to the Obrador de los Pintores de Cámara (Workshop of the Royal Painters), a half-length study of a *Virgin with Child in Cradle*, which had been acquired at the public auction of the estate of the marquess of Heliche, was found.

We also have evidence of the ever more frequent presence of Ribera's works in other Spanish collections, especially those in Madrid, at the same time that this exceptional enrichment of the royal collections was taking place. As we might expect, the most frequently mentioned paintings are half-length studies and single subjects, among them the aforementioned apostles and penitent saints (*Jerome*, *Onuphrius*, *Paul the Hermit*); there are also recurrent references to copies of those same subjects, almost always appraised at significantly lower sums than the originals. On occasion, however, there are works important for their size or for their complexity of composition. Some of these, it seems certain, were among those that have survived to the present time, although identification is at times difficult.

Between 1650 and 1660, especially worthy of attention are the paintings referred to in the will of “Don Jerónimo de la Torre of the Council of His Majesty, secretary of state for Flanders,”²⁵ who in 1658 owned an outstanding collection of Ribera's works. Of more than usual interest was a series of penitent saints (*Saint Jerome*, *Saint Mary of Egypt*, *Saint Mary Magdalen*, *Saint Paul*, and *Saint John*), all three varas high and two and a quarter varas wide (240 × 188 cm). Of equal dimensions, in the same collection, were a “badly mistreated” *Saint Sebastian*, a *Saint Agnes*, and a *Saint Bartholomew*. De la Torre also owned a *Saint Peter in Prison and an Angel*, three varas high and two and a half varas wide, and a *Jacob Sleeping* “more than three varas wide and two and a quarter high.” By 1718 these works had been incorporated into a trust and sold; Teodoro Ardemans was the appraiser and Palomino later restored them.

It is entirely possible—as Jenaro Artiles stated when he published the document—that these canvases, of which all trace was afterward lost, were incorporated into the royal collections along with other acquisitions at the beginning of the

eighteenth century. Among the first one would want to identify with certainty are the four hermits acquired by Charles III from the marquess of Los Llanos (the *Saint Bartholomew*, *Saint John the Baptist*, *Saint Mary Magdalen* [or *Saint Tais*], and *Saint Mary of Egypt*), along with the *Liberation of Saint Peter* and *Jacob's Dream* that apparently were acquired by Isabella Farnese as works by Murillo.

The *Saint Agnes* owned by de la Torre may be the one now in Dresden, which we know was acquired in 1745 by the elector of Saxony from the collection of the ambassador of Spain.

If, as I believe, these are the paintings in question, this group of works collected by Jerónimo de la Torre is of prime interest. All are from the years between 1639 and 1642, a fertile period for Ribera, and all are of exceptional quality—a combination that makes de la Torre one of Ribera's major collectors.

In 1659, at the time of his death, Claudio Pimentel y Ponce de León, marquess of Taracena, bequeathed a *Saint Francis* and a *Saint Mary of Egypt* to his brother, Luis Pimentel.²⁶ Also among the possessions described in the inventory of his estate were “a Savior and thirteen apostles by Jusepe de Ribera, half-length and all with their black frames.”²⁷ This must be the *Apostolado* (series of Apostles) now in the Prado, of which, until this notice, there had been no mention prior to its appearance toward the end of the eighteenth century in the Casita del Príncipe of the Escorial. Perhaps someday we shall know the precise history of those canvases before they became a part of the royal collections.

A *Saint Sebastian* “from life, tied to a tree with two arrows” was in the possession of Francisco de Oviedo, secretary to Philip IV, in 1663. It must have been a full-length figure because a different “half-length” painting of Saint Sebastian appears in the same inventory; however, it was appraised at 300 reals, in contrast to the 600 reals at which the first was listed. The painter Luis Fernández was the appraiser.²⁸

In 1672, the count of Alba de Aliste owned five canvases “a vara and a half” (in height, that is; this was the standard size of paintings that depicted more than half-length figures): *Saint Peter*, *Saint Paul*, *Saint John*, *Saint Francis*, and *Saint Onuphrius*, appraised “at forty ducats,” or 450 reals, each. The same collector also owned several copies after Ribera (a *Saint Jerome*, *Ecce Homo*, *Birth of Christ*, and *Saint Bartholomew*), which were appraised at much lower sums, establishing a clear distinction in valuation for the canvases.²⁹

On December 23, 1673, a *Saint Peter ad Vincula*, that is, in prison, “two and a half varas high,” was appraised at 1,000 reals in the will of Francisco de Orcasitas.³⁰ It was by implication, therefore, an important work.

At the time of her death in 1684, Catalina Vélez de Guevara,

countess of Oñate, possessed a significant canvas among the rare attributable portraits painted by Ribera. The subject was the “count of Oñate on horseback, entering Naples, with gold frame, four varas high and two and a half wide”; it was appraised by Carreño de Miranda at 4,400 reales.³¹ The high valuation suggests that it was a work of unusual quality and was greatly admired. There is a known portrait of the count of Oñate on horseback believed to be by Massimo Stanzione, held by the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid.³² This latter work may reflect Ribera’s composition, which is, of course, analogous to the portrait of Juan of Austria belonging to the Patrimonio Nacional and housed in the Palacio Real in Madrid.

Even during the last years of the seventeenth century, new and important works by Ribera were making their way into the possession of the noble houses of Madrid. In 1697, among the assets of the will written by Fernández de Villatoro Martínez de Niera, marquess of Castillo, under the rules of primogeniture and benefiting his brother-in-law, Luis Esteban de Pineda y Matienzo, count of Pineda, are four paintings by Ribera: a *Saint Jerome*, *Saint Andrew*, *Saint Francis of Paola*, and a *Head of Saint John the Baptist*.³³

In 1699 Francisco Rodríguez de la Torre, secretary to Charles II, owned a painting described as “Our Lady with a Sleeping Child, Saint Joseph in his carpentry shop, and Saint John, from the hand of Ribera, three varas high and two and a quarter wide” (240 × 188 cm). Rodríguez donated the painting to the Convent of San Ildefonso de Ocaña to be installed in an altarpiece.³⁴ This is undoubtedly a version of the renowned composition of the *Holy Family* today in the Museo de Santa Cruz in Toledo. An even finer version, recently identified, is now exhibited in the Museo dei Cavalieri di Malta in Rome (cat. 57).

Also in 1699, in the will of Luis de Cerdeño y Monzón, “knight of the Order of Santiago, of the Councils of H[is] M[ajesty] in the *real* of Castile, the Indies, and the Holy Crusade,” there were listed a *Nativity* 4¼ varas wide and 3 varas long (352 × 240 cm), appraised at 6,600 reales; a *San Gennaro* 2¾ varas high and 2¼ varas wide (225 × 188 cm), appraised at 6,600 reales; and a *Saint John* 2 varas high and 1½ varas wide (188 × 120 cm), appraised at 3,000 reales. There was also a *Saint Jerome* thought be a copy, with the same dimensions as those of the *Saint John* but appraised at 880 reales.³⁵

Finally, to close this summary review of seventeenth-century inventories in Madrid, in 1700, among the goods of María de Velasco, widow of the secretary Nicolás Martínez Serrano, was a *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, “three and a quarter varas long and two and a fraction wide,” which the painter Juan Matheos

appraised at the high sum of 12,000 reales.³⁶ It is possible that this was the handsome canvas that once belonged to the marquess of La Torrecilla, which appeared some years ago on the Madrid market.

It would serve little purpose to list here the large number of copies mentioned in inventories of more modest collections, which were, surely, nothing more than accumulations of household effects and not true collections amassed on the basis of artistic criteria. The proliferation of renderings of Saint Jerome, Saint Peter, Saint Francis, Saint Paul the Hermit, even of the Nativity and the *Ecce Homo*, testifies to the prevalence of Ribera’s models as objects of devotion in the pious ambience of the 1600s.

We are not surprised, then, that Ribera’s influence and imitations of his models, if not of his technique, appear with frequency in Spanish painting of the seventeenth century.

Everything we have said with respect to the appearance and continuing presence of Ribera’s works in Spain throughout the seventeenth century, beginning at a relatively early date, is evidence of how the artist was to exercise an immediate influence on Spanish artists. Interestingly, references to Ribera’s work are more abundant in the second half of the century, when a strict naturalism was already passé and the dominance of the Baroque well under way. It is therefore understandable that these references have more to do with the treatment of a particular subject than with style. Certain iconographic types established by Ribera endured a long time. In pictures of Saint Jerome, Saint Peter, and Saint Francis, Ribera’s original tenebrism gradually dissolved into less restrictive formulas. It was, in fact, Ribera’s later works, with their greater pictorialism, that left the most lasting mark.

However, an early indication that the significance of Ribera’s most rigorous tenebrism was recognized is to be found in the work of Luis Tristán, who, as Jusepe Martínez wrote, was in Italy “in the company of our great Jusepe Ribera,” and who returned, having “flourished in his studies.” For a long time Tristán’s journey was subject to doubt, but it was later confirmed to have taken place between 1606, when he was still in Toledo, and 1613, when, already back, he signed a contract to produce paintings for a convent in that city. Tristán’s travels must have coincided with the first years of Ribera’s stay in Italy, and the allusions to Lombardy and Rome that appear in the handwritten notes added to the copy of Vasari’s *Lives* belonging to Tristán’s master, El Greco, seem to repeat Ribera’s supposed itinerary.³⁷

Of Tristán’s known works—all painted in Spain after his return from Italy—there are several half-length studies of saints whose rigorous and analytic treatment and copper-colored to-

nality are related to Ribera's Five Senses. Tristán's *Saint Francis* in the Alcázar of Seville, similar in composition to such paintings by Ribera as those in Osuna or the Louvre, echoes the naturalist sensibility prevalent in Rome, where Ribera lived alongside the first generation of the Northern followers of Caravaggio. The *Penitent Saint Dominic* in the Museo del Greco in Toledo, with the still life of books and skull in the foreground, is also reminiscent of Ribera. After his return to Spain, the heritage of El Greco—so pervasive in Toledo—and the influence of Orazio Borgianni determined Tristán's most personal style, but his awareness of Ribera's work during the early part of his career cannot be denied.

Though perhaps not sufficiently remarked on, Ribera also influenced the young Velázquez. An unresolved enigma has always been the source of the Caravaggesque naturalism of Velázquez's Seville period (1617–22). The still-life paintings of those years—with or without a religious subject in the background—as well as his Apostles, offer a surprising similarity not only to Ribera's Five Senses but also to saints Ribera painted during his first years in Naples. We find the same presentation of ordinary individuals invested with a grave dignity; the sober composition limited to but a few elements beneath an intense tenebrist light; foregrounds in which the elements of a still life are depicted with amazing veracity; the range of sunny, warm browns that resonate with gold and chestnut and olive tones, reds, dark greens, and maroons; and the meticulous, smooth execution that seems to burnish the surface. Such canvases as the *Waterseller of Seville*, the *Mulatto Woman*, the *Saint Paul* (fig. 18), and the *Saint Thomas* are directly related to the Five Senses and point to a knowledge of similar works by Ribera.

Ribera was eight years older than Velázquez. We know nothing about how young he may have been when he began to paint. If the Five Senses were not painted about 1616, but earlier, perhaps between 1611 and 1613, their owner, about whom we know only that he was Spanish, might easily have transported them to Spain before 1618 or 1619, the years in which we can identify an echo of Ribera's influence in Velázquez's work. Palomino says that the young Velázquez felt encouraged "to attempt more undertakings with his talents," inspired by the paintings that arrived in Seville from Italy, and he expressly cites Ribera among the artists "who flourished in that age." And after praising Ribera's naturalism, Pacheco, father-in-law and teacher of Velázquez, states overtly that "my son-in-law, who is following that path, also sees the difference it makes for others, because of always having life before them."³⁸ It is of no little interest that Palomino adds that the works that "were to [Velázquez's] eyes most harmonious were those of Luis Tristán . . . for following a course similar to that of his own humor."



Fig. 18. Velázquez, *Saint Paul*. Museu d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona

I believe we must invert the terms of the relationship between the two great masters that has usually been proposed, for in the 1630s, when Velázquez passed through Naples on his Italian trip, Ribera was already a famous painter with a perfectly coherent style. It is extremely unlikely that he could have seen any work by the great but still young and unknown artist from Seville other than the portrait of the infanta María, queen of Hungary, painted in Naples and undeniably masterly, but a minor work that scarcely allowed more than a glimpse of Velázquez's true greatness.

Much more direct, and well acknowledged, is the influence that Ribera's paintings in Seville and its environs had on subsequent painters, particularly Alonso Cano and Zurbarán in the 1620s and 1630s. Jonathan Brown has accurately pointed out how paintings owned by the duke of Alcalá, especially the *Preparation of Christ for the Crucifixion* now in the Church of Santa María, Cogolludo, profoundly impressed the young Cano.³⁹ His *Road to Calvary* (ca. 1638), today in the Worcester Art Museum, reflects Ribera in the disposition and the types of elements that appear in it. Especially the figure of the Cyrenian,

who, with bowed head and strong bare arm, is helping Christ bear the cross, reveals that inspiration. The figures in the middle ground that seem to emerge from behind a hill, distant and dissolved in light, in the void bounded by the bar of the cross and Christ's drapery, are a typical device used by Ribera, observable in his large compositions of the 1620s—Cano's logical source. Although more serene—and with additional, Venetian elements derived from Carducho—Cano's *Preparation of Christ for the Crucifixion*, in the Church of San Ginés in Madrid, is also indebted to Ribera. And years later, in *Saint John Writing His Revelation*, now in Budapest, Cano once again turned to Ribera, in this case borrowing the saint's pose and the folds of cloth covering his knees from Ribera's engravings of Saint Jerome.

Zurbarán, in turn, utilized these same engravings of Saint Jerome for the small *Vision of Saint Peter* that is part of the altarpiece devoted to the latter saint in the Cathedral of Seville. The altarpiece itself is, in fact, one of the more evident testimonies of the admiration felt for Ribera in Seville about 1630. The figure of the saint in the two principal scenes of the ensemble—in prayer and in his vision of beasts—derives directly from Ribera's *Penitent Saint Peter* in Osuna, in its immediacy and its impassioned and harsh expression, although Zurbarán avoided the exaggerated contrasts of light and dark, sculpturally molding the solid figure of the saint with light against a clear and luminous background. Even more directly indebted to Ribera in the conscious use of tenebrism is *The Temptations of Saint Jerome*, in the Monastery of San Jerónimo, Guadalupe, a work of 1638 or 1639, in which, as has consistently been pointed out, the light, figure type, expression, and color derive directly from Ribera (fig. 19).

Zurbarán's *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* in the altarpiece of the Church of San Esteban in Seville are also an homage to Ribera, as are the paintings of the apostles of the *Apostolado* in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, of about 1640. Their conception and the use of a severe tenebrism, the way ordinary figure types have been invested with a certain nobility, and the masterful naturalism of the attributes (books, crosses, keys) identify them as direct descendants of Ribera's apostles.

Admiration for Ribera's paintings continued in Zurbarán's Seville: his imitators and disciples prolonged that admiration into the time of the young Murillo, who in turn drew new and personal inspiration from it.

Such anonymous works as the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Museo de Ponce in Puerto Rico⁴⁰ are conceived in the mold of Ribera's *Adoration* in the Escorial, hardening and expanding to a volumetric elementality what in the master had been rich pictorialism, and persisting in a rigorous and by then provincial tenebrism when European painting was turning to the new

paths being followed by Ribera himself. Something similar is true of the *Apostolado* in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Seville attributed to the Polanco brothers.⁴¹ Whether or not the series was painted by these still-enigmatic artists, its relationship to Ribera, through Zurbarán, is very clear, as is also the case with a painter from Luxembourg residing in Seville, Pablo Legot (1598–1671). Legot's *Saint Jerome* in the Cathedral of Seville is remarkably reminiscent of Ribera's depictions of the saint in pose, expression, and details, and it is not without a certain grandeur. The Cordoban Antonio del Castillo (1616–1668) is another artist who, in his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, reveals an obvious dependence on Ribera's models, freely interpreted but strongly related in sensibility.

The case of Murillo is even more significant. Murillo's delicacy has long been counterposed to Ribera's "cruelty." Yet much of the young Murillo's painting must be understood within the context of the work of the Valencian-Neapolitan painter, in which Murillo saw not only the strong figure types, the vehemence of the chiaroscuro, and the mastery of composition, but also how much of the pure painter there was in Ribera, how much the prodigious colorist, how much mastery in the handling of the paint.

Murillo's *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Prado, which is believed to have been painted between 1640 and 1645 (fig. 20), can be understood in the panorama of Seville only as a gloss on similar compositions by Ribera, especially those in the Escorial, one of which, as we have noted, had belonged to the duke of Medina de las Torres. Murillo not only absorbed this composition of balanced disposition and classic clarity, but also assimilated the marvelous fluidity of Ribera's technique and the use of a light that is not projected harshly but that seems to well from within the very objects that receive and reflect it with infinite, nearly Venetian reverberations.

Certain popular types re-created by Murillo during those years are a legacy of Ribera. We think, for example, of the *Old Woman with a Hen* in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, which I believe to be from this period and undoubtedly from Murillo's hand, and the figures of penitent saints, such as the *Saint Jerome* (one version in the Prado and one in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Seville), and even the *Penitent Saint Peter* of Newick, painted for Los Venerables of Seville and datable to about 1678. All are indebted to Ribera's prototypes.

It is revealing that only a few years after Murillo's death in 1690, among the assets of a good Flemish friend, Nicolas Omazur, was listed a pair of canvases, "one of a penitent Saint Peter and the other of the Magdalen, also penitent. . . . The Magdalen is a Murillo and the Saint Peter is thought to be the work of el Españolito."⁴² It would seem that, in homage, Murillo painted



Fig. 19. Francisco de Zurbarán, *The Temptations of Saint Jerome*. Monastery of San Jerónimo, Guadalupe

a canvas specifically to harmonize with a work attributed to Ribera.

In the theme of the Virgin with Child we see a further accord between Murillo and Ribera. A Murillo composition, known today only through an eighteenth-century engraving, was, in fact, a faithful gloss on Ribera's painting (1648) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, of which there is a copy in the Cathedral of Seville. Murillo's painting in the Wallace Collection, of about 1660, can also be considered a free derivation of a Ribera prototype.

And when Murillo attempts compositions more Baroque in concept, he often uses Ribera's schemes and models as a point of departure, models he freely and creatively reinterprets. The large *Saint Anthony* in the Cathedral of Seville is, in the lower section, very close to Ribera's versions in the Academia de San Fernando and in the Escorial. All the "real" elements of the composition (the fabric of the saint's clothing, the table, the flowers) are easily linked to Ribera, although at that date (1656) the figure of Jesus could not be presented with the simplicity and immediacy of Ribera's, and the heavenly host filling the upper portion of the canvas is purely Baroque.

However, even in Murillo's most Baroque exaltations there is an occasional tribute to Ribera. It should not be forgotten that the image of the Virgin that Murillo was to popularize is indebted, although indirectly, to Ribera's *Immaculate Conception* in the Convent of Las Agustinas in Salamanca (see fig. 17); this painting, with its glorious and dynamic vision of the Woman of the Apocalypse borne heavenward by angels, visually fusing the *Immaculate Conception* and the *Assumption*, was known in the Spain



Fig. 20. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Adoration of the Shepherds*. Museo del Prado, Madrid

of Pacheco, Zurbarán, and the young Velázquez — all of whom had conceived an almost girlish, reserved Virgin, severe and upright.⁴³

Murillo's Virgins, from the *Immaculate Conception* in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Seville (about 1655) to the one Marshal Soult had taken from Los Venerables that today is in the Prado (about 1675–80), are greatly indebted to Ribera's models, perhaps not so much to the painting in Salamanca, which may have been inaccessible to a resident of Seville, as to the different versions that existed in Spanish collections and churches (one was in the Church of San Pascual in Madrid and is today in the Prado; another, now destroyed, was in the Church of Santa Isabel in Madrid).

Ribera's influence would have been even greater in the ambience of Castilian Madrid, through paintings viewed in the court and, as was true in Seville, his widely distributed prints. We have seen how, in 1638, the unknown Diego Vázquez copied the engraving of *Saint Bartholomew*. Some years later a young painter from Madrid, Diego Rodríguez, an average though well-known artist, provided in his will that "a canvas of a painting of our blessed Saint Peter, a vara and a half high and a vara and a quarter wide, a copy of Jusepe de Ribera" be taken to the village of Villarta de Tajo, where he was born, and placed in the church in his memory and that of his parents.⁴⁴ It is probable that the copy was by Rodríguez himself, and even were that not so, the provision is still unmistakable proof of his profound admiration and esteem for Ribera. There were during those same years more highly regarded painters in Madrid who also revealed their intimate knowledge of Ribera's work. When speak-



Fig. 21. Francisco Collantes, *Saint Jerome*.
Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen



Fig. 22. Antonio de Pereda, *Saint Jerome*.
Museo del Prado, Madrid

ing of Francisco Collantes, known especially for his landscapes, Palomino says that a *Saint Jerome* from his hand “resembles [the work of] el Españoleto.” In fact, when Collantes painted large figures, his debt to Ribera was great indeed. A *Penitent Saint Peter* in a private English collection,⁴⁵ signed by Collantes, is little more than a copy of a Ribera composition (which, to judge by the number of known versions and copies, seems to have enjoyed enormous success). The beautiful *Saint Onuphrius* by Collantes now in the Prado was listed as Ribera’s work in a La Granja inventory of 1747. Other paintings by Collantes of penitent saints, particularly Saint Jerome (perhaps one of those mentioned by Palomino), derive from Ribera. One of these, in the Statens Museum in Copenhagen (fig. 21), must have enjoyed considerable renown, for there is another version in the Galleria degli Uffizi, which was, in fact, attributed to Ribera, and yet another version, signed in 1636 by Antonio Puga, today in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle.

More important were Antonio de Pereda (1611–1678) and Diego Polo (ca. 1610–1655), who also left testimony of their devotion to Ribera’s models, even though those models were interpreted according to the artists’ unique temperaments. Pereda, who blended Venetian technique with Flemish preciousness, painted versions of Saint Jerome at intervals throughout his lifetime — from the work in the Prado of 1643 (fig. 22) to another, of 1668, now in a private collection in Vitoria — reinterpreting Ribera’s tenebrism in an entirely different key. Maintaining the subject and overall composition — surely learned from engravings but

also from some of the many previously cited painted versions in collections in Madrid — Pereda incorporated elements of the tradition within which he was schooled: detailed and analytic still-life rendering of accessories is combined with an interpretation that is softer and more sensual than the precise work of the young Ribera. In any case, Pereda was demonstrating his awareness of and admiration for Ribera. Similarly, Pereda’s *Saint Peter* in the Academia de San Fernando, like Zurbarán’s and Cano’s, was indebted to the Ribera engraving of *Saint Jerome*.

Diego Polo, whose technique derived from Titian’s late works and was therefore quite different from Ribera’s, nevertheless seems to have utilized the latter’s engravings in his own versions of Saint Jerome: whereas Polo’s figure types and compositions draw on Ribera, the freer, softer brushwork bears little relation to the precision of the artist from Játiva.⁴⁶

Even at the height of the Baroque, artists in Madrid fully immersed in the style of Rubens continued to utilize Ribera’s motifs as a source of inspiration, curiously blended at times with evocations of Van Dyck, which undoubtedly would have pleased the master. Juan Martín Cabezalero (1633–1673), in the *Saint Jerome* of 1666 in the Meadows Museum in Dallas (fig. 23), masterfully blends the composition and light of Ribera with the velvety manner of the Flemish painter. In his large canvas of 1666 in the Meadows Museum (fig. 24), Juan Carreño de Miranda (1614–1685) did not hesitate to reelaborate, in a free and personal but nonetheless obvious way, Ribera’s engraving of the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (see cat. 82). The figure of



Fig. 23. Juan Martín Cabezalero, *Saint Jerome*.
Meadows Museum, Dallas



Fig. 24. Juan Carreño de Miranda, *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*.
Meadows Museum, Dallas

the saint, particularly the upper section, and the motif of the highlighted executioner's head, as well as the presence of the group of spectators to the right (augmented and separated from the principal group by Carreño but responding to an identical impulse), are witness to the continued inspiration of Ribera's engravings.⁴⁷ As has been observed,⁴⁸ a *Penitent Magdalen* in the Chiloeches collection, the work of Francisco Rizi (1614–1685) or an immediate imitator, draws inspiration for the general disposition of the Magdalen from the inexhaustible appeal of the prints of *Saint Jerome* — as had Cano for his *Saint John the Baptist*. Ribera's renditions of the Immaculate Conception were the point of departure for the type of Virgin commonly depicted in Madrid — so different from the reserved figure painted by Vicente Carducho and his disciples or by Eugenio Cajés and his, and from the model Gregorio Fernández had imposed on sculpture, and which from time to time made its way into painting.⁴⁹

The dynamism and the joyous and triumphant nature of Ribera's figures were the cause of something of a revolution in Madrid, as they had been in Murillo's Seville. We know through Palomino that Claudio Coello, ignoring the nuns' misgivings, repainted the face of the Virgin in the Convent of Santa Isabel when he learned that the model had been the legendary María Rosa, Ribera's niece, who had been seduced by Juan of Austria. It is clear, however, that Coello and his contemporaries admired the works that had helped guide them in creating their own interpretations. The Virgins of Francisco Rizi are also indebted

to those works, as are the more severe Virgins by Carreño.⁵⁰ We might also mention rather faithful copies, especially the Virgin of San Pascual painted by Francisco de Solís (1620–1674; Convent of Las Carmelitas of Boadilla del Monte) and the Virgins by the Valladolid artist Diego Valentín Díaz (Palacios de Campos, Iglesia Parroquial). Still another copy, by an excellent but anonymous Madrid painter, is framed in the vault of a room in the Convent of San Clemente in Toledo.⁵¹

In Valencia, the land of Ribera's birth, his influence is less evident, despite the fact that not so very long ago the names of Esteban and Miguel March were used as an umbrella for works in the style of Ribera, many of which we have no reason to believe were painted in Valencia. In any case, it is almost certain that these paintings are works directly indebted to Ribera, copies, or even ill-treated originals by the master himself.

One mature work with large figures by the Murcian Pedro Orrente, who at intervals painted in Valencia, could possibly be linked — more in the general idea than the concrete — to Ribera's most rigorously naturalistic models. The *Penitent Magdalen* in the Museo del Patriarca in Valencia — marked by the intense realism and light of Caravaggesque tenebrism — might bear a slight, though not definitive, relationship.

Although some works by the Ribaltas, especially Juan, might also recall the young Ribera, any resemblance is more likely due to a common debt to Caravaggio. As has been noted,⁵² the *Crucifixion* of 1618 in the Museo de Valencia contains many elements that link it to Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Peter*,

which was the source for the complex compositions Ribera painted during the 1620s. As with Velázquez, perhaps here, too, we could invert the conventional reading; it is possible that it was Francisco Ribalta (who died in 1628) who in his later years learned of the work of the man who has traditionally—without the least basis in fact—been considered his disciple.

Works by the Marches, as noted earlier, have been put forward as a possible example of Ribera's influence in Valencia, but this always has been through works of questionable attribution and uncertain origin, works with vague hints of Valencia in their slightly cold and rough technique and in the earth-tone underpainting that covers the canvas, darkening the colors.

Palomino, who had firsthand information, says nothing about any admiration for Ribera on the part of Esteban March and his son Miguel. Rather, he places these artists in the context of the more dynamic and free style of Pedro Orrente, Esteban March's teacher. The attribution to March of canvases in the Prado that are entirely Ribera-like in character (such as the *Saint Jerome*, *The Drunkard*, and *The Drunken Old Woman*) is from the nineteenth century; it was made after the paintings—previously thought to be the work of Ribera himself—became part of the collection and should today be discredited. Those canvases, especially the two of the toppers and another of a woman with a tambourine, offer strong parallels with paintings and engravings by Ribera, and should be reassigned to Ribera's immediate Neapolitan circle as works from his workshop, probably copies of lost originals.⁵³

There remain other works clearly Valencian in their technique and coloring that show the obvious influence of Ribera. A *Philosopher* in the Ayuntamiento (Town Hall) of Valencia and some half-length studies of saints in collections in Madrid and Valencia demonstrate that works by Ribera were known and imitated in his homeland—although by now it is not possible to prove who their authors were.

Ribera's prestige remained intact throughout the eighteenth century. His works continued to enrich the royal collections and his name to appear, with high appraisals, in inventories of that century. One might think that eighteenth-century tastes would not have appreciated what Ribera signified, even though his talent as a refined colorist was akin to certain aspects of the new sensibility. The discovery of Murillo perhaps called attention to those works by Ribera that had interested the painter from Seville. It is significant that paintings by Ribera, such as the *Dream of Jacob*, clearly known to be his in the seventeenth century, should have entered the royal collections with an attribution to Murillo, a fact that to us seems nearly incomprehensible.

Perhaps the most important demonstration of Ribera's enduring presence and lasting pictorial lesson is the evident and

profound effect on Goya of one of Ribera's most beautiful works, *The Miracle of San Donato of Arezzo*, which is now in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens, but at the end of the eighteenth century was in the Casita del Príncipe in the Escorial. When in 1819 the aged Goya painted his superb *Last Communion of Saint Joseph of Calasanzio* for the Escuela Pías of Madrid, he recalled Ribera's painting, at once so delightfully pictorial and so steeped in the atmosphere of religious mystery. The general composition, with the large mass of the priestly, gold-trimmed robes juxtaposed with the silvery whites covering the surface, and, above all, the figures in the background, nearly dissolved in light, attending the marvel with spiritual fervor, link the compositions in an unmistakable fashion.⁵⁴ Goya understood the impassioned pictorialism of the mature Ribera and, as he bowed to him and listened to the lesson of his brushes, he fervently affirmed—surely without being aware of it—the significance and validity of the Valencian-Neapolitan master.

After Goya, the irruption of Romanticism would muddy for many years the image of the great and pure painter, giving rise to the horrific artist propagated by Byron and Gautier. Goya, nevertheless, was able to absorb the message of the brush and the sensibility of a painter who was among the finest of his century, and whose lesson—at times muted, at times nearly a shout—was a presence in Spanish painting despite his voluntary absence from the country of his birth.

1. All information that is biographical in nature is collected in the Documentary Appendix to this catalogue. Specific biographical references are to be found there.
2. Martínez 1866, p. 34.
3. De Dominici 1742, vol. 3, p. 4.
4. The Mancini manuscript that refers to Ribera was first published in Milicua 1952, pp. 309ff. See also Marucchi and Salerno 1956.
5. Rodríguez Buzón Calle 1982.
6. Agulló [y] Cobo 1978, p. 26.
7. Brown 1979.
8. Carducho 1979, p. 435.
9. Brown and Kagan 1987. Other works by Ribera appeared in the 1637 public auction held in Genoa of Alcalá's belongings that were left in Italy. See Brown 1984.
10. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 37.
11. Pacheco 1990, p. 443.
12. Madruga Real 1983, pp. 225–28. This work describes in great detail the history of the founding of the convent.
13. Gutiérrez Pastor 1984, pp. 941–54; and Buendía and Gutiérrez Pastor 1986, cat. 1, p. 111.
14. Agulló [y] Cobo 1978, p. 156.
15. Cesáreo Fernández Duro published the inventory, for which see Fernández Duro 1903, pp. 184–215.
16. Pérez Sánchez 1977, pp. 417–59.
17. López Navio 1962, pp. 260–330; and Crawford 1980, pp. 256–68.

18. Jonathan Brown has posited that the painting by Juan Montero de Rojas now in the Musée de Tarbes may have been a copy of or derivation from Ribera's lost work. There is no corroborating evidence for this theory, although the intense naturalism of Montero's canvas may reflect something of the Ribera manner. See Brown 1984.
19. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, nos. 352–54.
20. Padre Francisco de los Santos, *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial*. The first edition, 1657, mentions only one work by Ribera. Successive editions, however (1667, 1681, 1697), noted subsequent works acquired by the Monastery; all editions, therefore, must be consulted.
21. Burke 1983.
22. Santos 1681, p. 82.
23. Yves Bottineau, "L'Alcázar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686. Aspects de la Court d'Espagne au XVIIe siècle," in successive numbers of the *Bulletin Hispanique* (1956–58).
24. The inventory of the *Testamentaria de Carlos II*, edited by Gloria Fernández Bayton, was published by the Museo del Prado (1975, 1981, 1985).
25. Artiles 1928.
26. Saltillo 1940–41, p. 246.
27. Agulló [y] Cobo 1978, p. 197.
28. Barrio Moya 1979, pp. 166–67.
29. Barrio Moya 1986, pp. 483ff.
30. Agulló y Cobo 1981, p. 177.
31. Barrio Moya 1985, p. 213.
32. Pérez Sánchez 1985, no. 138.
33. Saltillo 1951, vol. 1.
34. Barrio Moya 1988, p. 29.
35. Agulló y Cobo 1981, p. 57.
36. Agulló [y] Cobo 1978, p. 216.
37. See Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1972, pp. 111–99.
38. Pacheco 1990, p. 443.
39. Brown 1990, p. 177.
40. Held, Taylor, and Carder 1984, p. 332.
41. For information on the Polancos, about whom definitive information is still lacking, see the brief summary offered in Valdivieso 1986, p. 190.
42. Kinkead 1986, p. 138.
43. On Murillo, his formation and influences, see Angulo Iñiguez 1981, a monumental work.
44. Agulló [y] Cobo 1978, p. 140. On Diego Rodríguez, see Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1969, p. 74.
45. Angulo Iñiguez 1950.
46. On these artists, see Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez 1983. J. Brown has previously pointed out the debt the images of Saint Jerome owe to Ribera's engravings: see Brown 1973, pp. 38–59.
47. Burke 1989, pp. 134–35.
48. Brown 1973, p. 44.
49. For example, in the known versions by Jerónimo López Polanco in the Cathedral of Las Palmas (Grand Canary Island) and in the Church of Santa María of Dueñas (Palencia Prov.). See A. E. Pérez Sánchez, "Trampantojos a lo divino," in *Lecturas de Historia del Arte* (Vitoria 1992), vol. 3, pp. 139–55.
50. On Rizi and Carreño, see Pérez Sánchez 1985.
51. Pérez Sánchez 1974.
52. Doménech 1987, pp. 222–24.
53. Recent investigation on the Marches is insufficient to allow certainty as to their formation and their style. Soria 1945 is badly out of date and in many instances erroneous.
54. Xavier de Salas 1971.



Jusepe de Ribera, *A Noble and His Page*. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (cat. 99a)

Chronology

Historic and artistic events are in roman type; events from Ribera's life are in italics.

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| <p>1591 <i>On February 17, Jusepe de Ribera, the second child of the shoemaker Simón and Margarita (née Cuco), is baptized in the parish of Santa Tecla in Játiva, near Valencia.</i></p> <p>1606–1607 Caravaggio's first stay in Naples.</p> <p>1607 Battistello Caracciolo paints the <i>Immaculate Conception</i> for the Church of Santa Maria della Stella in Naples.</p> <p>1609–1610 Caravaggio's second stay in Naples.</p> <p>1610 Galileo Galilei constructs the telescope and writes his <i>Sidereus Nuncius</i>.</p> <p>1611 <i>In June, Ribera is paid by the Confraternity of San Martino of the Church of San Prospero in Parma, where he was working for Duke Ranuccio Maria Farnese on Saint Martin Sharing His Cloak with a Beggar, which has been lost.</i></p> <p>1612 Dirck van Baburen is in Rome, where he meets Hendrick Terbrugghen, who has been in the city for some time. Other artists arrive in the city later, and by 1615 the following artists from various centers of Northern Europe have arrived: Gerrit van Honthorst, the anonymous Master of the Judgment of Solomon, Valentin, Gerard Douffet, and Simon Vouet. They are joined by other Italian painters in the circle of Caravaggio who either work locally or are passing through the city, such as Cecco del Caravaggio, Orazio Gentileschi, Bartolomeo Manfredi, Orazio Borgianni, Lionello Spada, and, perhaps, Tanzio da Varallo.
In April, Guido Reni goes to Naples for the first time.</p> <p>1613 <i>Ribera is in Rome, where he requests admittance to the Accademia di San Luca.</i></p> <p>1615 Battistello Caracciolo paints the <i>Liberation of Saint Peter</i> for the Church of the Pio Monte della Misericordia in Naples.
Cervantes completes <i>Don Quixote</i>, begun in 1605.</p> | <p>1615 <i>Documents show Ribera in Rome with his brother Juan, a painter, staying with other Spanish artists in an apartment on the Via Margutta.</i></p> <p>1616 In the early months of this year, Don Pedro Téllez Girón y Guzman, duke of Osuna, previously ambassador of Spain to Rome, is named viceroy of Naples.
Galileo Galilei, denounced by the Holy Office, is put on trial and condemned for the first time.

<i>Documents show that Ribera is still in Rome in March in another apartment on the Via Margutta. In May, he pays or has paid contributions for alms to the Accademia di San Luca. In late July, in Naples, Ribera is paid for a Saint Mark the Evangelist, painted for Prince Marcantonio Doria in Genoa.</i>
<i>In Naples, in mid-November or shortly thereafter, Ribera marries Caterina Azzolino, daughter of the Sicilian painter Giovan Bernardino Azzolino, who has been working in the city for many years.</i></p> <p>1617 Battistello Caracciolo is in Genoa, in the service of Prince Marcantonio Doria.

<i>In August, Ribera is paid for having painted some banners for the duke of Elma's (Lerma's?) galleys.</i></p> <p>1618 Beginning of the Thirty Years War.

<i>During the early months of the year, Ribera works on the Crucifixion for the duchess of Osuna, which is then donated to the Colegiata of Osuna, along with four other canvases that make up the large altarpiece. In January, the grand duke of Tuscany grants him some commissions. In August, he purchases a house with a garden near the Convent of Santo Spirito di Palazzo. In a letter to Carlo Ferrante in Rome, dated December 11, Ludovico Carracci, in Bologna, mentions his admiration for Ribera's earlier work for Duke Ranuccio Maria Farnese in Parma.</i></p> <p>1619 <i>In November, Ribera is paid for paintings of three evangelists, delivered to Prince Marcantonio Doria in</i></p> |
|--|---|

- Genoa, for whom he will also paint a Guardian Angel, delivered the following year, and a Pietà, completed in July 1623.
- 1620 Around this time, Filippo Vitale paints the *Guardian Angel* for the Church of the Pietà dei Turchini in Naples. Antiveduto Gramatica is in the city, working for the Hermitage of the Camaldoli.
Between June and December, Cardinal Gaspar de Borja y Velasco is viceroy of Naples; he is succeeded by Cardinal Antonio Zapata.
- 1621 From December of the previous year or immediately thereafter, until late April, Guido Reni is again in Naples in connection with a commission for the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro, which he then refuses.

Ribera makes his first two dated etchings, the Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment and The Penitent Saint Peter. Saint Sebastian Ministered to by the Holy Women, now in Bilbao, is signed and dated. In September, Ribera receives some 40 ducats from the Convent of the Trinità delle Monache for the purchase of paints for the execution of various paintings for the church in this ecclesiastical complex.
Around this time, Giulio Mancini completes his manuscript, Considerazioni sulla pittura, which makes mention of the activity of the young Ribera in Rome.
- 1621–1625 Anthony Van Dyck is in Italy, moving between Genoa, Florence, Rome, and Palermo.
- 1622 Battistello Caracciolo paints the *Washing of the Feet* for the choir of the Church of the Certosa di San Martino.
In December, Don Antonio Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, is named viceroy.
- 1623 Maffeo Barberini, patron of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, is elected pope, with the name of Urban VIII.
Cosimo Fanzago begins work in the Certosa di San Martino.
Giovan Battista Marino publishes *Adone*.

Ribera is paid for the Pietà — consigned to Prince Marcantonio Doria in Genoa — which was commissioned in 1619.
- 1624 The young Nicolas Poussin is in Rome.

Ribera signs and dates the altarpiece with the Madonna with Child and Saint Bruno, now in Weimar, and an etching, the Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew, dedicated to Prince Emanuele Filiberto di Savoia, viceroy of Sicily and a relative of the king of Spain.
- 1625 Giovanni Lanfranco begins the fresco decoration of the dome of Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome. Cosimo Fanzago joins in work under way for the Church of the Convent of Trinità delle Monache.

In Naples, Ribera receives the Spanish painter Jusepe Martínez, with whom he discusses his preferences for ancient art and for the masters of the Italian Renaissance, and his feelings about the environment for art in Spain.
- 1626 January 29, Ribera is in Rome to receive the Cross of the Order of Christ at Saint Peter's. He signs and dates the Saint Jerome and the Angel, now in the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg, the Drunken Silenus, now in Capodimonte in Naples (acquired in 1653 by the merchant and collector Gaspar Roemer from the painter Giacomo di Castro), and the Saint Jerome and the Angel of Judgment, now in Capodimonte.
May 3, along with Battistello Caracciolo, Ribera is a witness to the marriage of Giovanni Dò, a painter from Valencia who has been in Naples for some time. With Massimo Stanzione, Ribera offers expert opinion on the Circumcision painted by Paolo Finoglia for the Sala del Capitolo in the Certosa di San Martino.
- 1628 Pietro da Cortona and Andrea Sacchi work in the Villa Sacchetti in Castel Fusano.
In August, Don Fernando Afán de Ribera, duke of Alcalá, previously a patron of Ribera and ambassador of Spain to Rome, is named viceroy. Ribera signs and dates the Martyrdom of Saint Andrew, now in Budapest, commissioned the previous October, and the Saint Sebastian with the Pious Women, now in the Hermitage.
- 1629 Gian Lorenzo Bernini completes the Palazzo Barberini and is named architect of the basilica of Saint Peter's.

In October, the young Diego Velázquez arrives in Rome for a period of study, having been in northern and central Italy since August.

- Andrea Sacchi works on the fresco of the *Divina Sapienza* in the Palazzo Barberini.
- 1630 In September, Velázquez is in Naples to paint the portrait of the infanta María, sister of Philip IV of Spain, who is on her way to Hungary. Artemisia Gentileschi is in Naples, where she will remain until 1638; she will return again in 1641 and stay until her death in 1652. Fanzago is engaged in making the gilded and silvered bronze gate of the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro.
- Ribera signs and dates the Democritus, now in the Prado in Madrid. With Stanzione, he offers expert opinion on the frescoes painted by Finoglia in the Cappella di San Martino di Tours in the Church of the Certosa di San Martino.*
- 1631 In April, Don Manuel de Zúñiga y Fonseca, count of Monterrey, is named viceroy. During the night of December 15, Vesuvius suddenly resumes its volcanic activity, with extreme violence, taking more than three thousand victims. Massimo Stanzione, having returned from a stay in Rome, works on the decoration of the Chapel of Saint Bruno in the Church of the Certosa di San Martino, a project that is completed in 1637. For some time, Fanzago has been working on marble busts to be placed above the doors of the large cloister in the same church. Domenichino arrives in Naples to work in the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro.
- In February, Ribera paints the portrait of Magdalena Ventura for the duke of Alcalá.*
- 1632 Pietro Novelli, known as Il Monrealese, is in Naples, perhaps having been there since the end of the previous year.
- Ribera signs and dates the Tityus and the Ixion from the series of the Damned for the Alcázar in Madrid, now in the Prado, the Saint Paul, now in the Hispanic Society of America in New York, the Saint Matthew, now in the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth, the Blind Beggar, now in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin (Ohio), and the Jacob with His Flocks, now in the Escorial.*
- 1633 Galileo Galilei is brought to trial and condemned for the second time.
- Ribera signs and dates the Pietà, formerly in the collection of the marquess of Heredia and now in the Thyssen collection in Lugano.*
- 1634 Giovanni Lanfranco moves from Rome to Naples to paint the frescoes for the dome of the Church of the Gesù Nuovo. He will remain there until the beginning of the popular uprisings in 1646. Luca Giordano is born.
- Ribera is paid for paintings intended for the Palace of the Buen Retiro in Madrid and receives commissions from the duke of Alcalá, now viceroy of Sicily. Among various compositions, he signs and dates the Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew, now in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., and the Pietà for the large altarpiece of the Church of Las Agustinas Recoletas in Salamanca, commissioned by the viceroy, the count of Monterrey.*
- 1635 In February, Giovan Benedetto Castiglione, known as Il Grechetto, is in Naples for legal proceedings. He had been in Rome between 1632 and 1634. Caldarón de la Barca publishes *La vida es sueño*.
- Ribera signs and dates the large Immaculate Conception for the same altarpiece in Salamanca.*
- 1636 Giovanni Lanfranco is commissioned to do the fresco decoration of the vault of the Church of the Certosa di San Martino, which he will begin the following year. Domenichino returns to Naples after a sojourn in Rome to execute the fresco decoration and the paintings on copper in the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro.
- Ribera completes the other paintings for the altar in Salamanca commissioned by Monterrey: The Apotheosis of San Gennaro and the Saint Augustine. He signs and dates the Assumption of Mary Magdalen, now in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid, and the Duel Between Women, now in the Prado. In May he receives from Count Charles Felisbergh of Liechtenstein a commission to paint twelve philosophers of antiquity for the library of Karl Eusebius, prince of Liechtenstein; only six of these are painted by the following year.*

- 1637 In November, Don Ramiro de Guzmán, duke of Medina de las Torres, is named viceroy.
- Ribera paints the Pietà for the sacristy of the Church of the Certosa di San Martino; the painting is moved at the end of the century to the Cappella del Tesoro. He signs and dates numerous paintings, including two versions of Apollo and Marsyas, now in the Museo di San Martino in Naples and in the Musées Royaux de Belgique in Brussels; the Venus and Adonis, now in the Galleria Corsini in Rome, and the Blessing of Jacob now in the Prado.*
- 1638 Massimo Stanzione paints the Pietà for the interior facade of the Church of the Certosa di San Martino.
- Fanzago begins his work for the marble decoration of the Cappellone di Sant'Ignazio in Gesù Nuovo, which is completed after 1652.
- Ribera is commissioned by Giovan Battista Pisante, prior of the Certosa di San Martino, to paint the series of fourteen canvases with patriarchs and prophets for the interior facade wall and for the spandrels facing the nave of the chapels in the church (completed in 1643). He is also commissioned to paint the large canvas of the Communion of the Apostles for the choir (completed in 1651), as well as two half-length figures, a Saint Jerome and a Saint Sebastian, for the private apartments of the prior (also completed in 1651).*
- 1639 Stanzione completes the canvas with the Marriage of Cana for the choir of the Church of the Certosa di San Martino.
- Ribera signs and dates — perhaps for the count of Monterrey — the two landscapes now in the collection of the duke of Alba in Salamanca and the pair of canvases, the Dream of Jacob and the Liberation of Saint Peter, now in the Prado. Giovanni Lanfranco copies an Eruption of Vesuvius by Ribera, shown in the Palazzo Reale.*
- 1640 *Ribera signs and dates the Saint Paul the Hermit, now in the Prado.*
- 1641 Domenichino dies in Naples without completing the fresco decoration and the paintings on copper in the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro.
- Ribera signs and dates the Penitent Magdalen, now in the Prado, the Saint Agnes, now in Dresden, and the Saint Mary of Egypt, now in Montpellier. On April 25 he is assigned the task of drafting a report on the unfinished works of Domenichino in the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro. On May 6 he is commissioned to complete the decoration of one of the altars for this same chapel with a large painting on copper, Saint Gennaro Emerging Unharmed from the Furnace (completed in 1647).*
- 1642 *Ribera signs and dates a pair of works, the Liberation of Saint Peter and Saint Francis at Porziuncola, which were in the Casa Duodo in Venice in the mid-eighteenth century before going to Dresden. He also paints The Clubfooted Boy, now in the Louvre.*
- 1643 Lanfranco frescoes the dome of the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro, completing Domenichino's unfinished fresco decoration.
- This year marks the appearance of the first symptoms of the illness (perhaps hypertension with other complications) that forces Ribera to stop working for long periods of time, up until his death. He begins to entrust much of his work to collaborators in his studio. Some of the work signed and dated this year includes the Baptism of Christ in Nancy; the small painting on copper depicting Saint Bruno, for the private apartments of the prior of San Martino, now in Capodimonte; and the Crucifixion, now in Vitoria.*
- 1644 In May, Don Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera, admiral of Castile, is named viceroy.
- Ribera's fourteen-year-old daughter, Margarita, marries Giovanni Leonardo Sersale, a judge in the court of the Vicaria, who dies in August 1651. The painter signs and dates the Head of the Baptist, now in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid.*
- 1646 Don Rodrigo Ponce de León, duke of Los Arcos, is named viceroy.
- 1647 At the beginning of July, the anti-Spanish uprisings in Naples, which had begun the year before, are renewed with greater violence under the leadership of Tommaso Aniello, called Masaniello. On July 16, Masaniello is slain by his followers in the Convent of the Carmine. On

	November 4, Don Juan of Austria, illegitimate son of Philip IV, enters Naples to repress the revolt; he takes up residence in the Palazzo Reale.	1650	From March to April, Velázquez is once again in Naples.
	<i>During the insurrection led by Masaniello in July of this year, Ribera lives in the Palazzo Reale, where his niece may have been seduced by Don Juan of Austria, the illegitimate son of Philip IV.</i>	1651	<i>Ribera signs and dates the Nativity now in the Louvre.</i>
	<i>In September, Ribera completes the painting on copper for the Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro, begun in 1641. He signs and dates the Saint Simeon with the Infant Jesus, now in a private collection in Spain.</i>		<i>By year's end, Ribera completes the Communion of the Apostles, the Saint Jerome, and the Saint Sebastian for the Certosa di San Martino, commissioned in 1638, but he remains dissatisfied with the payment received from the monks. He signs and dates the Saint Mary of Egypt, now in the Filangieri museum in Naples.</i>
1648	In January, Don Juan of Austria temporarily assumes the duties of viceroy. This post is assigned in March to Don Indico Vélez de Guevara, count of Oñate. The latter definitively represses the revolt by April 6. The Thirty Years War ends with the Peace of Westphalia.	1652	Luca Giordano leaves Naples for his first trip to study art in Rome and in northern Italy.
	<i>Ribera signs and dates the large Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria, now in the Palacio Real in Madrid, and the Holy Family with Saints Anne and Catherine of Alexandria in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The anti-Spanish revolt over, he returns to live in his house in Santo Spirito di Palazzo.</i>		<i>Ribera signs and dates the Saint Jerome, now in the Prado, and the Saint Paul the Hermit, formerly in the collection of Baron Arezzo in Ragusa.</i>
1649	In June, Velázquez is in Naples for a brief stay.		<i>On November 3 he is registered in the Libro dei defunti (Register of Deaths) for the parish of Santa Maria della Neve, and he is buried in the Church of Santa Maria del Parto in Mergellina. In November, his widow is forced to mortgage all of the family's possessions, and, in December, his heirs denounce the monks of San Martino for not having properly compensated the deceased painter for the Communion of the Apostles and for the hardships he was made to endure during his life while carrying out commissions for them.</i>
	<i>Beset by health and financial problems, Ribera works on a Pietà (unidentified today), commissioned by Prince Antonio Ruffo of Messina.</i>	1655	<i>On July 9, after the judges of the court of the Vicaria have ruled in favor of the painter's heirs and against the monks of San Martino, the latter pay Ribera's widow the sum of 315 ducats, the agreed-upon amount due.</i>

Paintings, Prints, Drawings

1 *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*

Oil on canvas, 80 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 60 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (204 × 154 cm)

Property of a Trust. Loan arranged by
Trafalgar Galleries, London

THE FIRST RECORD of this painting dates to 1836, when it passed from the Gagliardi collection in Florence into the collection of Prince Anatol Demidoff in San Donato. There are numerous reproductions and copies, some from Ribera's workshop (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden; the Vatican Pinacoteca; Palazzo Sciarra, Rome; Galleria di Palazzo Spinola, Genoa; the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City; the Granada Cathedral; a private collection, Naples; and the Mazzotti collection, Milan). All are relatively modest in quality. Among these, the Kansas City version has been the object of considerable interest on the part of scholars. By 1839 it was in the collection of the marquess of Las Marismas del Guadalquivir; it appeared in the Charpentier collection in Paris in 1951. It was purchased by Piero Corsini, New York, in 1986 and sold in 1989 to the Nelson-Atkins Museum with an attribution to Ribera, later supported by Craig Felton.¹

The version shown here, attributed to Ribera during the last century, was in an exhibition catalogued by E. Young at the Trafalgar Galleries in 1976. Both the attribution and the suggested date of about 1618–20 were accepted by many critics. Felton, however, dated the work from 1620 to 1624,² while Pierre Rosenberg, Pérez Sánchez, and this writer expressed doubts as to the painting's authenticity, preferring to group it with the workshop copies made from a lost original.³ Cleaning of the picture has, to this writer's mind, enhanced the attribution to Ribera. There still remains the issue of its precise chronology

and the problem of the work's connection to the Kansas City version, which is substantially identical in composition but smaller (52 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 47 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [134 × 120 cm]) and almost horizontal.

Felton has recently concluded that both versions are by Ribera's hand⁴ (his opinion regarding the Kansas City canvas is shared by Bologna⁵). He hypothesizes that the London canvas, with its larger size and vertical format, was intended for an altarpiece, whereas the Kansas City version derives from it and was painted by Ribera for a private collector. In both versions, Felton now suggests, Ribera tentatively reconciled elements of a Caravaggesque naturalism with an approach to light and color based upon Correggio, Emilian painting of the later Cinquecento, and Guido Reni after 1610 (indeed, with results actually similar to those achieved by Juan Batista Maino after a 1611 sojourn in Lombardy). Ribera was in Parma in 1611, and Felton argues that the two paintings must have been conceived either when Ribera painted the altarpiece of *Saint Martin Sharing His Cloak with a Beggar* for the Confraternita del Santo in San Prospero in Parma (paid for in June 1611 but lost and known only through old copies and prints;⁶ see fig. 2) or at the beginning of the young artist's sojourn in Rome—that is, before he fully embraced the vigorous naturalism of the northern followers of Caravaggio. The influence of these latter artists is more closely seen in Ribera's works from 1615 to 1617, such as the extant paintings from the series of the Five Senses (cats. 2–5) or the early Neapolitan canvases painted for Osuna (cats. 13, 14).

Felton's reading of the picture implies that after the young Ribera left Valencia, he came directly to Naples, where he was first struck by Caravaggio's work. Immediately after this he would have gone to Rome and then to Lombardy and Emilia in northern Italy to acquaint himself with the work of the late Cinquecento painters there (in particular the Carracci). In Parma, where

he studied the work of Correggio, he worked for Duke Ranuccio Maria Farnese and painted various altarpieces, now lost. Only after 1611, having finally returned to Rome, would he definitively adopt those aspects of Caravaggio's naturalism that characterize his work of about 1615.

This hypothesis, so far as it concerns Ribera's travels in Italy—from Naples to Parma, with a return to Rome—still awaits documentation, and it contrasts with a more probable itinerary following the well-traveled route from Alicante to Genoa to the Lombard territories administered by Spain, and then on to Emilia for the documented stay in Parma, whence Ribera would have set out for Rome, where he had his first and decisive contact with Caravaggesque painting. If this alternative hypothesis of Ribera's voyage as a young man from Spain to Italy is accepted (and the untenable suggestion, recently advanced by J. T. Spike, that Ribera was working under Ribalta's influence in Valencia from 1603 to 1606 is rejected), then the characteristics of the London *Saint Lawrence* (the Kansas City version being nothing more than a good studio replica) would find a less complex and artificial explanation than that suggested by Felton.

What makes the *Saint Lawrence* seem dependent on Emilian and on late-sixteenth-century models (excluding the over-generalized references to Correggio, who was considered merely a point of reference to be studied by aspiring painters and sculptors while apprentices) is the young Ribera's considerable regard for drawing (*disegno*) as a means of organizing observations from nature in a composition. This approach would explain certain references by Ribera, both here and later, to works by the Carracci (Lodovico in particular) and Guido Reni, in his brief, moderately naturalistic, Caravaggesque phase. It is Ribera's method of perceiving and translating observations of reality by means of contrasts and transitions of a natural-seeming light that suggest that the canvas belongs to a stage when



Ribera had already acquired an advanced understanding of Caravaggio and his circle in Rome. Nonetheless, the painting clearly should be dated earlier than the more vigorously naturalistic works painted about 1615. Nor is it without significance that the figure of the boy at the lower left, strongly emphasized by the light of the glowing coals, precisely recalls, both compositionally and in its lighting, the half-naked youth

Lionello Spada introduced in his altarpiece in San Domenico in Bologna, painted in Rome immediately after 1610.⁷ The portrayal of the two executioners — who return scarcely altered in later paintings by Ribera — presupposes a careful study of Caravaggio's work in Rome as well as in Naples, which it is not improbable the young Spaniard briefly visited during his Roman sojourn.

A possible connection should be mentioned with San Lorenzo in Lucina in Rome, a church of the order of the Chierici Regolari Minori, recently founded by the Neapolitan Giovanni Pietro Carafa, with whose family Ribera later established close ties in Naples. It is remarkable that in this church there remains no painting illustrating the martyrdom of the saint to whom the building is dedicated (although such a work might have been removed and dispersed during the renovations that took place in 1857). In contrast, one still finds in their original settings the *Stories of the Life of Saint Francis* by Simon Vouet and the altarpiece with *San Carlo Borromeo* that was painted in 1613 by Carlo Saraceni, one of the first Roman followers of Caravaggio, with whom the young Ribera certainly would have become acquainted. Moreover, 1613 is also the year Ribera requested admission to the Accademia di San Luca. Conceivably, the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* was originally painted for one of the altars of San Lorenzo; it would certainly have been an appropriate companion to the Caravaggesque paintings of Saraceni and Vouet.⁸ In any case, the canvas shown here belongs to a period after Ribera's stay in Parma, and its style must be distinguished from the Emilian traits presumably present in the dispersed altarpieces he painted for churches in Parma⁹ or in the paintings made for Ranuccio Farnese (the latter are completely unknown to us). Rather, the painting dates from a period when the artist had already been working in Rome for some time, under the influence of Caravaggio and his followers, though prior to the more mature naturalistic period of about 1615 to 1617. Perhaps it was painted in 1613, shortly before his request for admission to the Accademia di San Luca. In any case, it was undoubtedly intended for an important setting, which alone explains its extraordinary impact, borne out by the numerous replicas and copies mentioned above.

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1. Felton 1991b.
2. Felton 1976; Felton and Jordan 1982.
3. Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978.
4. Felton 1991b.
5. Naples 1991, p. 128.
6. Cordaro 1980.
7. Nicolson 1989, vol. 2, figs. 271, 272.
8. Suggestion kindly communicated by R. Cohen.
9. See note 6.

PROVENANCE

Gagliardi collection, Florence (until 1836); Prince Anatol Demidoff, San Donato (1836–ca. 1870; sold, Paris, 1870, no. 199); André Marie collection, Paris (until 1975); sale, Rouen (1975); Trafalgar Galleries, London (from 1975); Atlantis Trust.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1976, no. 17.

REFERENCES

Felton 1976, pp. 35–36, fig. 12; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 273, p. 130; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 52, fig. 17; Madrid 1985, p. 266; Felton 1991b.

2 *Sense of Sight*

Oil on canvas, 44 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 35 in. (114 × 89 cm)
Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico City

PROVENANCE

Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris (ca. 1941; as Velázquez); Bensimon Inc., New York and Paris (1952); Franz Mayer collection, on loan to the Museo de San Carlos in Mexico City (until 1982); Museo Franz Mayer (since 1983).

EXHIBITIONS

Felton and Jordan, 1982, no. 2.

REFERENCES

Milicua 1952a, pp. 309–22; Mancini 1956–57, vol. 1, pp. 149–50; Mexico City 1963, fig. 38; Longhi 1966, pp. 74–78; Felton 1969, pp. 2–11; Cleveland 1971–72, pp. 149–53; Spear 1972, pp. 149–50; Konečný 1973, pp. 85–92; Felton 1976, pp. 31–43; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 4.

3 *Sense of Smell*

Oil on canvas, 45 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 34 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (115 × 88 cm)
Private collection

PROVENANCE

Probably Prince Youssouppoff, Moscow and Saint Petersburg (before 1917); Duveen Bros., New York(?); sale, Christie's East, New York (March 14, 1985, no. 139); Piero Corsini, New York (1985–90); Juan Abelló, Madrid.

EXHIBITIONS

New York 1986, no. 19.

REFERENCES

Milicua 1952a, pp. 309–22; Mancini 1956–57, vol. 1, pp. 149–50; Longhi 1966, pp. 74–78 (referring to copy); Felton 1969, pp. 2–11 (copy); Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 5a (copy); Naples 1989b, pp. 6–7; Christiansen 1987.

4 *Sense of Taste*

Oil on canvas, 44 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 34 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (113.8 × 88.3 cm)

Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford; The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection 1963.194

PROVENANCE

Probably Prince Youssouppoff, Moscow and Saint Petersburg (before 1917); Duveen Bros., New York (until 1963); Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (from 1963).

EXHIBITIONS

Hartford 1963; Cleveland 1971–72, no. 55; London and Washington 1982–83, no. 119, pp. 226–27; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 3.

REFERENCES

Milicua 1952a, pp. 309–22; Mancini 1956–57, vol. 1, pp. 149–50; Longhi 1966, pp. 74–78; Schleier 1968, pp. 79–80; Paoletti 1968, pp. 425–26; Felton 1969, pp. 2–11, ill.; Spear 1972, pp. 149–50; Volpe 1972, pp. 72–73; Pepper 1972, p. 178; Konečný 1973, pp. 85–92; Felton 1976, pp. 31–43, ill.; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 2, illus. p. 92; Cadogan 1991, pp. 321–23.

5 *Sense of Touch*

Oil on canvas, 45 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (116 × 88.3 cm)
The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena;
inv. no. F.65.1.52.P.

PROVENANCE

Prince Youssouppoff, Moscow and Saint Petersburg (before 1917); Duveen Bros., New York (until 1965); The Norton Simon Foundation, Los Angeles (from 1965).

EXHIBITIONS

Palm Beach 1964, no. 2; Hartford 1967; San Francisco 1968–70; Cleveland 1971a, no. 56, ill.

REFERENCES

Milicua 1952a, pp. 309–22; Mancini 1956–57, vol. 1, pp. 149–50; Longhi 1966, pp. 74–78; Schleier 1968, pp. 79–80, ill.; Paoletti 1968, pp. 425–26; Felton 1969, pp. 2–11, ill.; Spear 1972, pp. 149–50; Volpe 1972, pp. 72–73; Pepper 1972, p. 178; Konečný 1973, pp. 85–92; Felton 1976, pp. 31–43, ill.; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 3, ill.; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 1; Pasadena 1980, p. 43; Felton 1991b, pp. 77–80, fig. 15.

THESE FOUR CANVASES and a fifth, the *Sense of Hearing*, known only through copies (fig. 25), have been convincingly identified with “five very beautiful half figures representing the senses” that, according to Mancini, were painted for a Spanish patron during Ribera’s early years in Rome. Longhi first reidentified the compositions of the series in 1966 on the basis of copies, then on the art market in Paris and now in Austria. The four originals that have appeared since then are the keystone of Ribera’s early production prior to his move to Naples in 1616.

No precise dating can be deduced from Mancini’s text, but since Ribera was in Parma in 1611 and in Rome by 1613, the canvases must have been painted between 1611/13 and 1616. Although it is usually assumed that they date from the final moments of Ribera’s stay in Rome, it is not impossible that they were painted somewhat earlier and sent on to Spain. This would explain the influence they seem to









Fig. 25. Copy after Jusepe de Ribera, *Sense of Hearing*. Europahaus, Vienna

have had on the young Velázquez, whose apostles (*Saint Peter*, Museo de Arte, Barcelona; *Saint Thomas*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans) and even his extraordinary *Waterseller of Seville* (Apsley House, London) may have found their point of departure in these intense, almost brutal works by Ribera.

In these and other youthful works, Ribera employed a technique that differs significantly from that of his later years. His point of departure was a vigorous Caravaggesque naturalism, with figures of a compelling, rough immediacy, analyzed under a harsh shaft of light in the tradition of tenebrist painting. But in his rigorously analytic interpretation, the painter seems closer to Flemish tradition than to the austere, almost abstract style of Caravaggio, and it seems significant that Ribera's circle of friends and neighbors on the Via Margutta in Rome were, for the most part, northern painters such as Gerard Douffet, Valentin, Dirck van Baburen, and Hendrick Terbrugghen. The dense but smooth application of paint, the copper-colored flesh,

the well-turned fingers, the touches of white for the lit areas, and the prodigious tactile quality of the still-life elements are common to all the pieces in the series. Along with the evidence of the Osuna canvases (cats. 13, 14), these characteristics have served as a touchstone for the attribution or reattribution to Ribera of other pictures that were formerly questioned because of these very peculiarities of execution, so different from his sensual style and rich use of impasto in subsequent years.

From the point of view of iconography, the series offers notable singularities, breaking with the complex, allegorical treatment and erudite literary references so customary in representations of the five senses in the north, especially in the Low Countries; Jan Brueghel's canvases in the Prado, with their iconographic complexity and compositional richness, are perfect examples. Ribera chose a simpler, more direct approach, taking his models, gestures, and attitudes from everyday life. Yet, within this realistic treatment, it is still possible to detect shades of difference in the models and their psychology that possibly relate to a carefully thought-out scheme—by Ribera or someone else—on the relative dignity of the senses. This idea requires further investigation. From the coarseness of the *Sense of Taste*, interpreted as a corpulent, smiling eater and drinker, to the introverted thinker who embodies *Sight*, holding Galileo's telescope to scrutinize the universe (thereby awakening an expression of profound reflection), there is a gamut of attitudes. These pictures are probably imbued with a more serious content than the simple, naturalistic, almost playful one that is usually seen in them. For example, in the *Sense of Smell*, rather than the refined perfumes and exquisite flowers that are the traditional attributes, there is an onion, whose odor brings tears to the eyes of the picturesque beggar. This sort of invention, with its allusion to an unpleasant experience, is a complete novelty. So, too, is the peasant meal

of eels or squid and a paper cone of olives set before the figure in the *Sense of Taste*. In the *Sense of Touch*, Ribera evokes a contrast between the tactile quality of sculpture and the purely visual realm of painting, also neatly combining a reference to ancient art and the realist credo of Caravaggio. To judge from the number of copies, both of the entire series and of the individual pictures, they enjoyed considerable success.

Three of the pictures apparently belonged to Prince F. F. Youssouppoff and were acquired by the famous dealer Joseph Duveen prior to 1917 (definitive evidence for this provenance is lacking, but all three pictures had identical frames and were in New York): the *Sense of Taste* was purchased by the Wadsworth Atheneum in 1963; the *Sense of Touch* by Norton Simon in 1965; the *Sense of Smell* appeared at auction only in 1985. The *Sense of Sight*, about whose early provenance there is no indication, first appeared at a sale in Paris about 1941 with, interestingly enough, an attribution to Velázquez. Prior to the reidentification of the series in 1966, the pictures were ascribed to various artists, mainly northern Caravaggisti.

AEPS

6 *Saint Jerome*

Oil on canvas, 49 × 39½ in. (123 × 100 cm)
Signed: JOSEPHUS RIBERA VALENTINUS,
CIVITATIS SETABIS HISPANUS / ME FECIT
Joey and Toby Tanenbaum collection,
Toronto

RECENTLY PUBLISHED by Felton, this important painting by Ribera must be an early work, possibly painted before 1613.





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It is signed ostentatiously in Roman capitals (similar inscriptions occur on works by such northern followers of Caravaggio as Janssens), but it includes no reference to Ribera's membership in the Accademia di San Luca, which he joined in 1613. An analogous signature on the early *Saints Peter and Paul* (cat. 8) carefully records this membership. Felton may be correct in suggesting that this is Ribera's earliest signed painting and is closely related to works from the circle of Caravaggio. Indeed, Nicola Spinosa

would prefer ascribing it to Pietersz Crabeth, despite the signature.¹

AEPS

1. Madrid 1992, p. 55.

PROVENANCE

Sale, Habsburg, Feldman, Inc., New York (January 9, 1990, lot 49).

REFERENCES

Felton 1991a.

7 *Democritus*

Oil on canvas, 40 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 29 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (102 × 76 cm)
Private collection, London

THE SUBJECT of this painting has been tentatively identified as Democritus, the pre-Socratic philosopher and founder of atomism, who lived in Greece during the second half of the fifth century B.C. Since ancient times, Democritus has been depicted with an optimistic and smiling expression in contrast to the gloomy and pessimistic Heraclitus. Moreover, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the climate of the triumphant Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation, Democritus was considered a pagan precursor who embodied the Christian virtue of laughing at human miseries and vanities, as expressed by the French preacher Pierre de Besse in his *Démocrète chrétien*, published in 1615 and known widely in contemporary lay circles in Rome and Naples.

The work has strong affinities with the surviving canvases from the series of the Five Senses (cats. 2–5). For this reason, a dating of about 1615 can be suggested, the time of Ribera's youthful experiments in a strongly naturalistic and Caravaggesque vein. These are the years bridging his beginnings in Spain and his early activity in Naples. By 1617, this period had been documented by various compositions with which this painting has obvious similarities: *The Flagellation of Christ* and *Saint Andrew*, Quadreria dei Girolamini, Naples; *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, Galleria Pallavicini, Rome; *Saint Philip* and *Saint Jude (Thaddaeus)*, private collection, Rome; the works presented to the Collegiata of Osuna by the widowed duchess of Osuna (cats. 13, 14); and the *Saints Peter and Paul* (cat. 8). The *Democritus* and the series of the Five Senses, particularly the *Sense of Sight*, now in Mexico City (cat. 2), and the *Sense of Smell*, now in Madrid



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(cat. 3), have similar compositions, with a half-length figure shown obliquely behind a worn table, on which are arranged the tools of the craft or the objects indispensable to the illustration of the sense—veritable exercises in Caravaggesque still-life painting. A shaft of light penetrates the enclosed, bare, small domestic space, casting deep, dense shadows on the back wall, and, at the same time, emphasizing both the physical qualities of surfaces and clothing, which are scrutinized and investigated

in the most minute detail, and the more intimate and secret aspects of character.

NS

PROVENANCE

Paul Labatut, Paris (until 1988); Piero Corsini, New York (from 1988).

EXHIBITIONS

Naples 1989b, pp. 6–7, cover ill. and fig. on p. 4; Northampton 1989–90.

REFERENCES

Spinosa 1988, p. 434, fig. 678 (1989, p. 471, fig. 707).

8 *Saints Peter and Paul*

Oil on canvas, 49 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 44 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (126 × 112 cm)

Signed lower center: JOSEPHUS RIBERA

HISPANUS VALEN / TINUS CIVITATIS SETABIS

ACA / DEMICUS ROMANUS

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg; inv.

no. 103

ALTHOUGH THE WORK is prominently signed and probably has an illustrious history (it is almost certainly the canvas mentioned by Padre Santos as in the Monastery of the Escorial in 1681), its autograph inscription has been questioned and its style incorrectly analyzed. Acquired in 1890 by the Strasbourg museum, it was still considered a work by Ribera six years later.¹ Ribera's authorship was generally maintained until 1938, when Haug, in cataloguing the museum's paintings, attributed it to Gerard Douffet. In 1945, Mayer suggested the name Pietro Novelli, the "Monrealese," whose works were beginning to be studied at the time and to whom several other paintings by Ribera were also credited. Study of the youthful works of the master from Játiva firmly corroborates what the signature, which should never have been questioned, proclaims.

The iconography is expressed with great ingenuity. The apostles, shown with their traditional attributes, are caught up in a lively discussion of a text from the Bible which, significantly, occupies the central position in the dynamic composition. The books, Saint Peter's key, and Saint Paul's sword are painted with extraordinary vigor. The figure types—Saint Peter shown bald and aged; Saint Paul younger, bearded, and nobly handsome, as required by tradition—recur in other early works, and the sculptural modeling of the hands, rendered with brushstrokes that define and round the forms, is identical to that found in the *Five Senses* (cats. 2–5).

According to the recently published notice, Ribera was a member of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome from 1613. As far as we know, this canvas and the Capodimonte *Drunken Silenus* of 1626 (cat. 16) are the earliest works to refer to this status. The date of this canvas is probably close to 1616—that is, to the end of his stay in Rome or to his first months in Naples. The evident similarities, pointed out by Ferdinando Bologna, to the apostles *Peter* and *Paul* (cats. 9, 10) in the Quadreria dei Girolamini in Naples or to the *Saint James the Great* formerly in the Böhler collection, Munich, are further confirmation of this date, despite the fact that Felton, who in 1966 rejected Ribera's authorship, is more inclined to a dating a bit earlier than 1620.²

The canvas must have been in Spain for some time, since quite a few old copies exist on the Iberian Peninsula, testifying to its popularity and suggesting that it was in an easily accessible place.

This work is almost certainly the *Saint Peter and Saint Paul* seen by Padre Santos in 1681 in the anteroom to the sacristy of the Escorial.³ Ponz, at the end of the eighteenth century,⁴ described it as "half-length figures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul." The canvas disappeared during the Napoleonic Wars, but copies, such as the excellent, recently restored version in the Convent of Alcalá de Henares and the one in a private Barcelona collection offered to the Prado in 1961, document its presence in the Monastery.

AEPS

1. Loeser 1896, p. 286.
2. Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 107.
3. Santos 1681, p. 38; Santos 1698, p. 49v.
4. Ponz 1947, p. 168.

PROVENANCE

Monastery of the Escorial (before 1681); Gustave Rothan collection; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris (May 29–31, 1890, lot 233, as a Ribera); Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg (since 1890).

EXHIBITIONS

Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 5.



8

REFERENCES

Santos 1681, p. 38; idem 1698, p. 49v; Loeser 1896, p. 286 (as a Ribera); Strasbourg catalogue 1912, p. 78 (as a Ribera); Haug 1938, p. 76, no. 103 (as a Douffet); Mayer 1945, pp. 83–92 (as a Novelli); Ponz 1947, p. 168; Trapier 1952, p. 262 (as a Douffet); Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 93, no. 13 (as a Ribera); Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 5 (as a Ribera); Naples 1989b, pp. 10–11.

9 *Saint Peter*

Oil on canvas, 30 3/4 × 25 1/8 in. (78 × 65 cm)
Quadreria dei Girolamini, Naples

PROVENANCE

Church of the Girolamini, Naples (before 1692).

EXHIBITIONS

Athens 1984; Budapest 1985; Naples 1991, p. 285, no. 239.

REFERENCES

De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 14; Sigismondo 1788–89, vol. 1, p. 189; Mayer 1908, p. 191; Rolfs 1910, p. 306; Celano 1970, vol. 2, p. 496; Felton 1971, vol. 2, p. 578; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, pp. 92–93, nos. 8–10; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 52; Leone de Castris and Middione 1986, pp. 88–93.

10 *Saint Paul*

Oil on canvas, 30 1/4 × 25 1/8 in. (78 × 65 cm)
Quadreria dei Girolamini, Naples

PROVENANCE

See cat. 9.

EXHIBITIONS

See cat. 9.

REFERENCES

See cat. 9.

11 *Saint James the Great*

Oil on canvas, 30 1/4 × 25 1/8 in. (78 × 65 cm)
Quadreria dei Girolamini, Naples

PROVENANCE

See cat. 9.

EXHIBITIONS

See cat. 9.

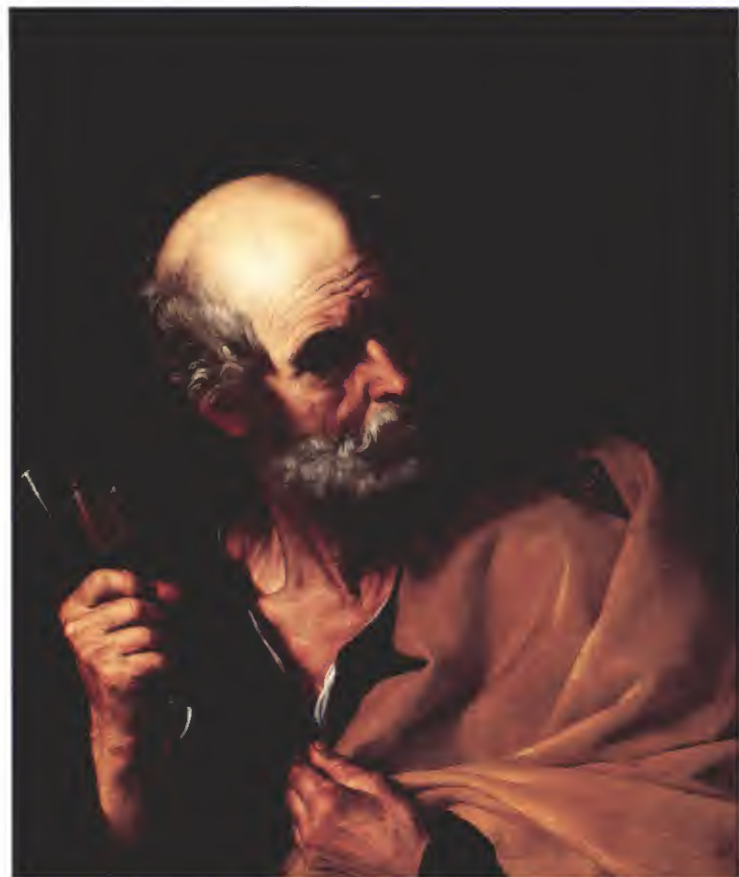
REFERENCES

See cat. 9.

THESE SURVIVING ELEMENTS of an *Apostolado* (a series of paintings of apostles) were first mentioned by Celano in 1692, when the paintings were displayed in the sacristy of the Church of the Girolamini, along with the pair of the *Flagellation* and the *Saint Andrew*, also from the Quadreria. Following a period in which some critics assigned the pictures to the circle of Ribera, with the suggestion that they were by van Somer, today, with Bologna's observations favoring an attribution to Ribera and a date early in the artist's Neapolitan period, these paintings have been accepted as clear documents of Ribera's youthful, vigorously naturalistic, and Caravaggesque style. The only remaining question concerns the precise date of their execution: during the final phase of Ribera's sojourn in Rome or his first few months in Naples, during but no later than 1616. In any case, for the figure of Saint Paul, Ribera used the same model seen in a painting of the same subject in a

private collection in Naples.¹ This latter work and the *Saint Peter* in the Indiana University Art Museum in Bloomington are probably the surviving elements in another group of apostles, also partially dispersed.² The same model also appears in the Strasbourg *Saints Peter and Paul* (cat. 8). All of these were surely painted before 1618, when Ribera was at work on the Osuna *Crucifixion* (cat. 14) and when he began to explore new and different geometrical constructions and brilliant effects of light in the manner of Bartolomeo Cavarozzi.

The format, compositional approach, and style of these three apostles are different from and earlier than the other two canvases in the Girolamini referred to above, and they probably date from Ribera's first months of activity in Naples, as Bologna has suggested. However, this creates problems for the dating of the series of the Five Senses (cats. 2–5). These are now dated toward the end of Ribera's Roman sojourn,





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but they appear closer stylistically to the somewhat later works of 1616–17 than do these three Girolamini half-length figures.

NS

1. Naples 1991, p. 284, no. 238.

2. Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 11, p. 93.

12 *Saint Matthew and the Angel*

Oil on canvas, $33\frac{7}{8} \times 27\frac{1}{4}$ in. (86 × 69 cm)
Piero Corsini, New York

WHEN EXHIBITED in Naples in 1989, this painting was dated within Ribera's early Neapolitan period, together with the Strasbourg *Saints Peter and Paul* (cat. 8) and *The Flagellation* and *Saint Andrew*, now in the Quadreria dei Girolamini, Naples, and before the *Crucifixion* in Osuna (cat. 14), which



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was under way in early 1618. Felton has connected the work with some payments made in 1619 for three half-length figures of evangelists commissioned from Ribera in Naples by Prince Marcantonio Doria of Genoa.¹ Doria, who was a patron of Caravaggio when he was in Naples, of Ribera's father-in-law, Giovan Bernardino Azzolino, and of Battistello Caracciolo, paid Ribera twenty-five ducats in May and thirty-five ducats in November of 1619 through the prince's Neapolitan intermediary, Lanfranco Massa, at the Banco del Popolo. By then, the canvases had already been consigned. Evidently, they were part of a series of the four evangelists commissioned earlier, since in July 1616 Doria paid Ribera fifteen ducats for a *Saint Mark* that had already been sent to Genoa (now lost). The series must have been commissioned when Ribera had just arrived in Naples, prior to his marriage to Azzolino's daughter in late 1616. He evidently already had close ties to Azzolino, and it was prob-

ably thanks to the older painter that Ribera obtained this prestigious commission from Doria, which was followed by others (see the Documentary Appendix).

Acceptance of Felton's suggestion does not necessarily imply that the *Saint Matthew* was executed in 1619. The strong stylistic affinity it shows with the *Saints Peter and Paul* in Strasbourg and with other paintings that can now be dated to the period between the end of Ribera's Roman sojourn and 1617, and the absence of those effects of iridescent light that appear in the Osuna *Crucifixion* of 1618, support a dating shortly after Ribera arrived in Naples, chronologically close to the lost *Saint Mark*. Notable in this painting, as in other works by the young Ribera, is the reference to a specific work by Caravaggio: the rejected first version of the altarpiece for the Contarelli Chapel in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, then in the Giustiniani collection (Kaiser Friedrich

Museum, Berlin, destroyed during the Second World War).

NS

1. Delfino 1984; Nappi 1986; Documentary Appendix.

PROVENANCE

Sale, Phillips, London (June 1988); Piero Corsini, New York.

EXHIBITIONS

Naples 1989b, p. 7, fig. a, p. 8; Northampton 1989–90.

REFERENCES

Felton 1991a, pp. 121–26.

Sebastian and the *Crucifixion* were shown in Paris and London, and in 1978, the entire group was exhibited briefly in Seville.² Since that time, the paintings have been unanimously accepted as undisputed youthful works by Ribera. Recently published documentation permits them to be properly placed within his oeuvre.

When the canvases were studied in the restoration laboratories of the Prado, it was found that they probably were not executed

at the same time or as a series, for the cloth on which they are painted is completely different in each work. Further, the *Saint Bartholomew* and probably also the *Saint Jerome* show signs of having been cut to fit a common measurement.

Perhaps more than any other early work by Ribera, the *Saint Sebastian* reflects his contact with Bolognese painting, combined with a strict Caravaggesque style and an admiration for classical antiquity. The pose of the

13 *Saint Sebastian*

Oil on canvas, 70½ × 54¼ in. (179 × 139 cm)

Patronato de Arte de Osuna, Seville

THIS PAINTING is from a group of five works by Ribera that were presented in 1627 to the Colegiata of Osuna by the widow of the duke of Osuna, Doña Catalina Enríquez de Ribera. Four, of equal dimensions, show individual saints—Peter, Sebastian, Bartholomew, and Jerome—while the fifth, almost twice as large, is a *Crucifixion* (cat. 14). They were kept in the presbytery of the Colegiata, incorporated into an altar of unknown form, until 1770. At that date, the *Crucifixion* was replaced by a smaller and more modest work by a local painter, while the other four were installed in a newly constructed baroque high altar. They remained there until extensive restoration of the church was begun, to be completed only in 1978. The canvases were probably trimmed to fit the new altar; affixed to boards, they have been crudely restored. Situated in a rarely visited place and positioned high on the altar, where they were difficult to see, they were rarely commented on in writings of the era. Those who did examine them considered them to be mere copies or imitations of Ribera's work.¹

In 1973, the Prado undertook the restoration of the paintings. In 1976, the *Saint*



figure, and in particular the position of the legs and torso, seem to derive from a classical sculpture of a Niobid group, while the gesture and figure type, like the treatment of the nude body, recall the manner of Guido Reni, whom Ribera both admired and, in all likelihood, knew.

X rays demonstrate that initially the head was placed more frontally and the gaze was turned upward in a fashion typical of Bolognese artists from Reni's circle. There is a surprising similarity between the final version and Guercino's much later *Saint Sebastian* in his altarpiece at Toulouse (now on deposit at the Louvre).

The silvery blue tonality of the landscape, the horizontal streaks of clouds—also evocative of Bolognese painting—and the branches silhouetted against the horizon recur in the landscape just visible through the window in the *Sense of Sight* (cat. 2). Indeed, the manner of painting the hands and the fluid application of paint, so different from the vigorous impasto Ribera later employed, relates the *Saint Sebastian* to his early works—not only to the series of the Five Senses but also to the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (cat. 1), the original of which dates from these same years, 1616–18 (to this writer's view, all surviving versions are copies).

AEPS

1. Ponz (1764), Mayer (1923), and Trapier (1952) viewed them with disdain; only Justi (1889) and Tormo y Monzó (1916a) considered them works by Ribera and worthy of serious study.
2. See Pérez Sánchez 1978.

PROVENANCE

Don Pedro Téllez Girón, duke of Osuna (until 1624); Doña Catalina Enríquez de Ribera, duchess of Osuna (1624–27); Colegiata of Osuna (from 1627); Museo Parroquial de Osuna.

REFERENCES

Justi 1889, p. 343, and 1953, p. 120; Tormo y Monzó 1916a, p. 23; Mayer 1923, p. 30; Ponz 1947, p. 1620; Pérez Sánchez, in London 1976c, no. 27; Pérez Sánchez, in Paris 1976, n.p., under no. 45; Felton 1976, fig. 6, p. 34; Pérez Sánchez 1978, n.p.; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 21; Rodríguez-Buzón Calle 1982, pp. 62–63; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 4, p. 103.

14 *Crucifixion*

Oil on canvas, 11 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. \times 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (336 \times 230 cm)

Patronato de Arte de Osuna, Seville

THE REVERSE of the canvas bears an inscription in Spanish, now concealed by a relining carried out in 1976, that reads: "To José de Ribera, painter, Naples." Conceivably, the canvas was sent to Ribera from outside Naples by a Spaniard.

The *Crucifixion*, long thought to be the only work by Ribera at Osuna, is undoubtedly the most complex and stylistically advanced of the group of five canvases there. It has long been believed that the work was commissioned by the duke of Osuna. However, stylistic considerations led to a dating after the duke's death in 1624, and even to the hypothesis¹ that the painting was commissioned by a member of his family, probably his widow, Doña Catalina Enríquez de Ribera, as a kind of posthumous homage. The resemblance of the figure of Mary Magdalen to the adolescent who appears in the upper right corner of the Capodimonte *Drunken Silenus* (cat. 16) seemed to support a date about 1626, and this was further supported by the fact that the *Crucifixion* was recorded as the most valuable work presented to the Colegiata by the duchess in 1627. Recently, Gabriele Finaldi has linked the work to a document brought to light by A. Parronchi in 1980.²

According to a letter of January 23, 1618, from Cosimo del Sera, the Neopolitan agent of the grand duke of Tuscany, to the grand duke's secretary in Florence, a Spanish painter whom he does not name but who is apparently Ribera had painted three saints for the viceroy Osuna. Del Sera went on to say that the viceroy considered the artist superior to Fabrizio Santafede, from whom a canvas for Florence had already been commissioned. The information undoubtedly

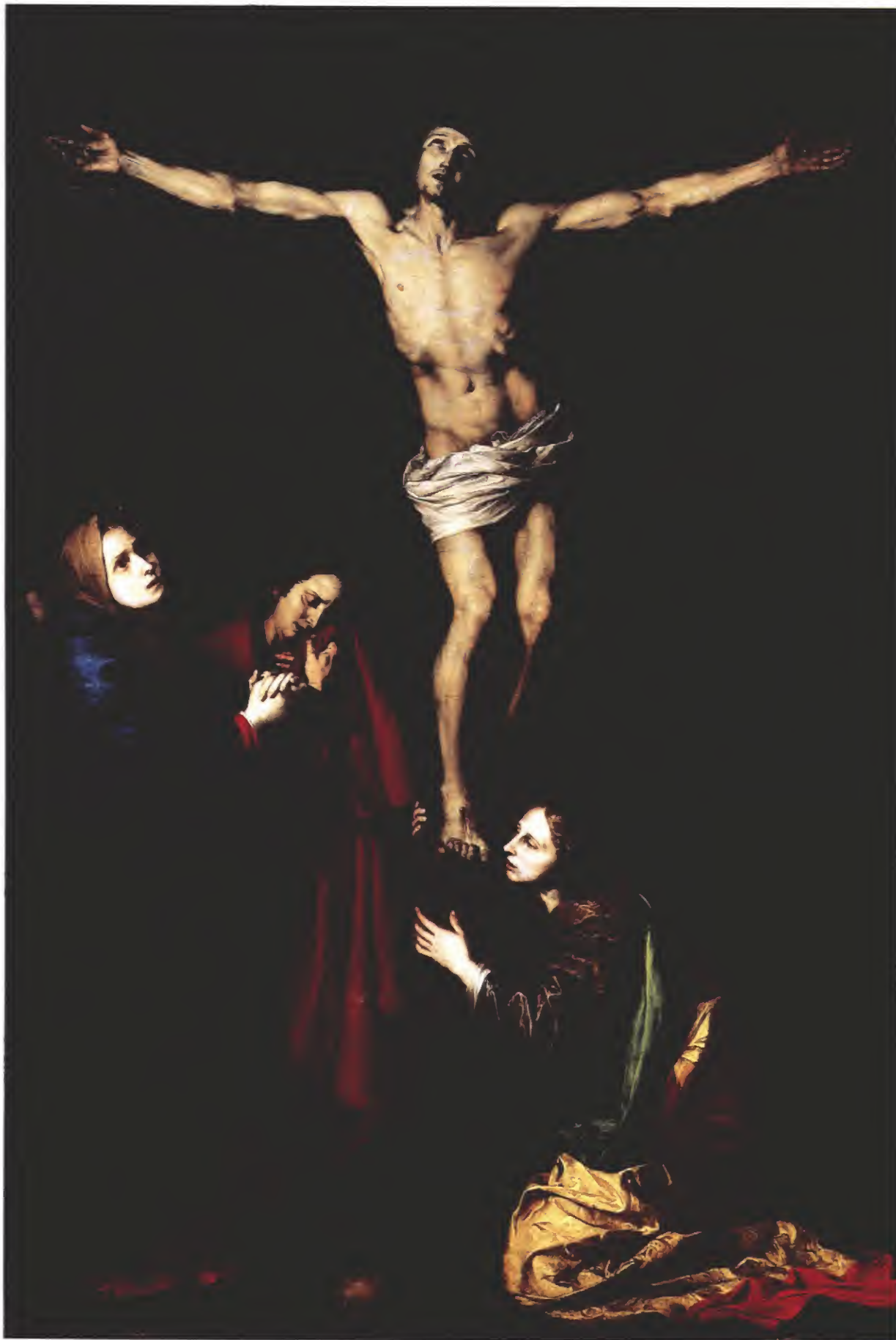
aroused the grand duke's interest in the Spanish master, and we learn that on March 6, 1618, Ribera had not yet begun work on a commission for him because of a "Crucifixion" for the vicereine Doña Catalina.

There is good reason to think that that painting—of unmistakable importance, since its execution demanded "full dedication" and a certain amount of time—is none other than the *Crucifixion* that the widowed duchess presented to the Colegiata in 1627, after the embargo placed on her husband's goods was lifted.³

The great canvas, assuming the date of 1618, must be regarded as a major step in the painter's evolution, for it represents a considerable advance over the Roman series of the Five Senses (cats. 2–5). The importance of its role can be seen not only in its complexity of composition but also in its technique, which, in the depiction of the figures of Christ, Saint John, and the Virgin, marks a radical departure from the smooth finish and minutely detailed, analytic character of that series.

The monumental composition seems even more daring and richly dramatic today because of the darkened and altered background, which has made the female figure with clasped hands standing to the right of the cross almost invisible and upset the strict compositional balance, based on a classicizing Bolognese symmetry. The Bolognese treatment of the Christ, whose suffering face recalls the work of Reni, has been observed by Trapier, Felton, and Pérez Sánchez. It is tempting to believe that Ribera knew Guido Reni's great *Crucifixion*, painted for the Capuchins of Bologna, now in the Pinacoteca of that city. However, that work was not finished until 1619. Ribera was highly respected by Reni: according to Giulio Mancini, a contemporary of both painters, Reni set great store by the Valencian painter's compositional abilities and color.⁴

The figure of Christ, though interpreted more realistically, unquestionably derives from Michelangelo's famous drawing



for Vittoria Colonna, which was widely disseminated through engravings and innumerable painted copies. Thus Ribera's praise of Michelangelo, Raphael, and other great Renaissance masters, recorded by Jusepe Martínez, is confirmed: "Such great works . . . demand to be studied and meditated over many times. For although now we paint following a different course and method, if [it is] not established upon this kind of study, such painting may easily end in ruin."⁵

A striking similarity can be found in the figure of Mary Magdalen — especially in the treatment of her luxurious green and yellow clothing — to the style of the Roman artist Bartolomeo Cavarozzi (ca. 1590–1625) in the years immediately prior to his trip to Spain (1617–16). These similarities strongly suggest that Ribera must have kept in touch with both the more measured and restrained Caravaggesque circle as well as the more radical group of northern followers of Caravaggio.

The *Crucifixion* is in a poor state of conservation. Broad areas, especially in the right

background, are virtually lost. Large areas of repainting that covered old damages and hid the color were removed during the restoration of 1975. Though the faces are better preserved, the general effect and the balance of tones are now gone. Through the 1845 writings of Richard Ford, we know that the canvas, greatly damaged after having served as a target for French riflemen during the Napoleonic Wars, was restored by the Sevillian painter Joaquín Cortés.

AEPS

1. Pérez Sánchez 1978, n.p.
2. See DA, April 13, 1627.
3. G. Leti, *Vita de Don Pedro Girón, Duca di Ossuna* (Amsterdam, 1699), vol. 3, p. 437.
4. Mancini 1956–57, p. 249.
5. Martínez 1950, p. 100.

PROVENANCE

Doña Catalina Enríquez de Ribera, duchess of Osuna (1618–27); Colegiata, Osuna (1627–1975); Museo Parroquial, Seville (since 1978).

EXHIBITIONS

London 1976, no. 25; Paris 1976, no. 46; Pérez Sánchez 1978.

REFERENCES

Ford 1845, vol. 2, p. 489; Madoz 1849, vol. 12, p. 402; Tormo y Monzó 1916b, p. 237; Mayer 1923, p. 30; Mayer 1947, p. 291; Ponz 1947, p. 1620; Trapier 1952, pp. 17, 20–23; Justi 1953, pp. 100, 200; Lafuente Ferrari 1953, p. 258; Seville 1953, pp. 30ff.; Felton 1971, p. 164, no. A.8; Angulo Iñiguez 1971, p. 103; Felton 1976, p. 37; Pérez Sánchez 1978, n.p.; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 25; Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 52–54.

15 *Saint Jerome and the Angel*

Oil on canvas, 72 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 52 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (185 × 133 cm)

Signed and dated: *Joseph a Ribera / Valentinus et / academicus Roman / faciebat 1626*

State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

DATED THE SAME YEAR as the *Drunken Silenus* (cat. 16), the great *Saint Jerome* of the Hermitage is perhaps the most Cara-





vaggesque of Ribera's early work. In the gesture of surprise and in the general compositional scheme, built on the diagonal placement of the body of the saint, which is strongly lit, the picture is related to the second of two engravings of the same subject (cat. 75). In its more active and open character and its more frontally placed figure, however, it differs considerably from the earlier canvas at Osuna, though the two

works show a similar concern for naturalistic details, especially evident in the still life of books, parchment, and skull and in the character of the saint's face, with its heavy white beard.

As Jonathan Brown emphasizes, the Hermitage painting, along with the *Saint Jerome* in the Capodimonte museum, Naples (cat. 17), is an excellent example of the painter's continuing elaboration of compositional

schemes from his earliest years. The realism of the lion's head is particularly telling, as it emerges from the shadows and is aligned along the same plane as the saint's belly, on which the folds of flesh are described with amazing intensity. The saint's hands and feet are still treated with the coppery tonality found in the Osuna paintings and the Five Senses series (cats. 2–5), but the manner of rendering the drapery, beard, and folds of mortified flesh heralds the painter's more mature style.

The painting was owned by the powerful prime minister of Charles IV, Manuel de Godoy, "the Prince of Peace" (1767–1851), though from which convent or collection he acquired it is not recorded. It was seen in Godoy's palace in 1800 by González de Sepúlveda, who made special mention of it in his diary. Confiscated along with the rest of Godoy's property, it was probably secured by Marshal Junot, duke of Abrantès, for it appears in the 1817 and 1818 sale catalogues of his collection. Godoy probably reacquired it, for in 1831 he sold it to the Hermitage.

A faithful copy, evidently the work of a pupil, is in the Galleria Parmiggiani of Reggio Emilia.¹ Mayer suggests that the copy might be the same canvas that in 1896 was part of the Osuna sale, although the dimensions given in the sale catalogue (172 × 125 cm) were somewhat smaller.

AEPS

1. Pérez Sánchez 1988, no. 14.

PROVENANCE

Manuel de Godoy, Madrid (by 1800–8); Marshal Junot, duke of Abrantès, Paris (until 1817/18); Manuel de Godoy (until 1831); the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (since 1831).

REFERENCES

Somof 1869, p. 118, no. 333; Mayer 1923, p. 197; Trapier 1952, p. 35; Gaya Nuño 1958, p. 276, no. 2269; Felton 1971, p. 168, no. A.10; Brown 1973, pp. 26–28; Kagane 1977, p. 53; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 29; Pardo Canalís 1979, p. 301; Felton and Jordan 1982, fig. 24, p. 117; Rose Wagner 1983, p. 370, no. 472.



16 *Drunken Silenus*

Oil on canvas, 72 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 90 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (185 × 229 cm)

Inscribed at lower left: *Josephus de Ribera, Hispanus, Valentin / et academicus Romanus faciebat / partenope . . . 1626*

Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples; inv. no. 298

IN 1675, Joachim von Sandrart recalled having seen in the Palazzo de Monteoliveto a painting of this subject that was owned by the Flemish merchant and collector Gaspar Roomer.¹ Although his description does not correspond perfectly to this canvas, Palomino confirmed in 1724 that the painting did belong to Roomer.² Roomer, however, did not commission the work: Capaccio, writing in 1630 of a visit he had made to Roomer's house four years earlier, made no mention of the *Drunken Silenus*.³ A document, published recently by Eduardo Nappi, establishes that in 1653 Roomer acquired a *Bacchus*, nine by seven *palmi* in size, from the painter Giacomo de Castro which can be identified with the Capodimonte canvas. On Roomer's death, his estate was divided among religious institutions, relatives, and friends, among whom was Ferdinand Van den Einden, son of his business associate. In turn, Van den Einden left his collection to his three daughters, one of whom, Giovanna, married Giuliano Colonna. A *Bacchus* by Ribera was inventoried among the Colonnas' possessions by Luca Giordano on November 17, 1688, with the highest appraisal, after a work by Rubens. Despite a discrepancy in dimensions, that work could be the Capodimonte painting. At the end of the eighteenth century the canvas was temporarily hung in the palace of the prince of Francavilla before being sent, along with other art objects from the Bourbon collections, to

Palermo at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was returned to Naples in 1806.

The *Drunken Silenus* is dated and signed with Ribera's title of Roman Academician on a scroll held in the fangs of a serpent. The serpent can refer to death and the hereafter, to fame and prudence, or, according to Cesare Ripa, to wisdom. This last meaning would allude to Silenus, a corpulent and cheerful agricultural divinity of Greek mythology, who was a follower of Bacchus but also was linked to Socrates through his wisdom and his gift of prophecy. Silenus is generally depicted seated in a donkey-drawn cart or riding the donkey, supported by two satyrs, as he leads the triumphal processions of Bacchus, whom he raised and cared for from childhood. Silenus is the son of Pan, whom Ribera shows behind him with the attributes accorded him in Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini de i dei degli antichi*: goat-like features, a shell that foretells his death, a turtle—symbol of laziness—and a pastoral staff placed in the lower right corner of the canvas.

The image of Socrates as Silenus, combining wisdom with vulgarity, was widespread in Spain as early as 1529 through Erasmus's text *Silenos de Alcibiades*, which Ribera probably knew.⁴ However, instead of giving an erudite interpretation of a subject Ribera would also have known from Hellenistic reliefs, the painter seems to have turned to prints or books, borrowing those elements that might serve his purposes in creating a burlesque interpretation of a drunken and grotesque subject—a pitiless spectacle ridiculing the mythological world.

Elizabeth DuGué Trapier has identified a drawing by Annibale Carracci as the iconographic source for the painting.⁵ The drawing, identical in subject matter, was made for a silver tray in the Farnese collection now in the Capodimonte. Later, Chenault Porter considered the figure of the god a pastiche derived from various sources: a sculptural version of Silenus on the Via del Babuino, where the painter lived while in

Rome, and a print, perhaps by G. B. Cavalieri, that reinterprets a sculpture now in the Ludovisi collection, but then in the Palazzo Margherita in Rome, of which there is an engraving by François Perrier. Porter pointed out an even closer similarity with a drawing attributed to Giulio Romano showing Silenus and the Grape Harvesters,⁶ related to a fresco in the Palazzo Tè in Mantua. Ribera's painting and Giulio's drawing show a close typological and compositional similarity rare in depictions of the god, whom Cartari never describes thus.

Richard Spear identified the scene as Pan crowning Silenus with ivy leaves.⁷ The figure with a classical profile in the upper right corner would be Apollo; a companion of Bacchus, Silenus was associated with Apollo in Renaissance and Baroque iconology and, according to a tradition attested to by Cartari, was crowned. Spear's hypothesis has been rejected by Wolfgang Prohaska, who proposed a new interpretation of the theme.⁸ According to him, Ribera did not intend to reinterpret the myth in an erudite fashion, identifying Silenus with Bacchus and Apollo. Rather, he depicted the bacchanal organized every three years to crown Bacchus with ivy, as described in Ovid's *Fasti*. The participants included Pan, Silenus, satyrs, and nymphs. During the dead of night, while everyone else was asleep, Priapus tried to take advantage of the nymph Lotis, but at a critical moment, Silenus's donkey, which had been left near the river, began to bray, exposing the deed and subjecting Priapus to derision. The complex theme was rarely represented in painting. The most famous depiction is Giovanni Bellini's *Feast of the Gods*. Ribera was always drawn to bizarre subjects, but if he chose this theme, he made its focus not Priapus and the nymph but Silenus and the braying donkey, leaving the most tragic moment of the myth, precipitated by the action of the donkey, to be reconstructed by the cultivated viewer.

These divergent interpretations aside, the work is among Ribera's masterpieces and

one of the keystones in the Caravaggesque style of his early maturity. The figure of the god, which dominates the foreground of the canvas, is darkly outlined to reinforce its three-dimensionality. The thick impasto and the loaded brushstrokes further accentuate the tactility and realism of the skin. Scholars have compared the profiled head at the upper right with depictions of Mary Magdalen in various works of Ribera's: Pérez Sánchez, that in the *Osuna Crucifixion* (cat. 14); Felton, that in the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* in the National Gallery, London, and that in the *Pietà* in the Certosa di San Martino, Naples. In addition, Trapier has linked the young satyr at the left of the canvas to Ribera's *Clubfooted Boy* in the Louvre; Konečný connects it with the figure on the left in Leonardo da Vinci's drawing of *Five Grotesque Heads*, now in Windsor.⁹

Two years after completing this painting, Ribera made an engraving (cat. 84) that offers some variations on the canvas: eliminating the turtle, the shell, and the serpent, he added Pan's pipes and two sleeping putti—elements from the classical repertoire—and opened up the dense background of the painting with a landscape and birds in flight.

The composition was the basis for a canvas now at the Galleria Corsini in Rome that was executed at the end of the seventeenth century. A copy is in the Musée Municipale in Fécamp. An engraving, inscribed with a dedication to Giuseppe Balsamo, the baron Cattasi, is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art; a similar etching is in the collection of the duke of Northumberland. A third engraving, in the Museo di San Martino in Naples, perhaps the work of a student, depicts among various studies one of Silenus's arms with a shell-shaped cup in the hand.

The Capodimonte painting was restored in 1820, according to a document found by Umberto Bile in the State Archives in Naples.¹⁰ In 1928, De Rinaldis mentioned a careless restoration carried out about

1903;¹¹ Trapier, echoing Ortolani, refers to restoration work done about 1930.¹²

DMP

1. Sandrart 1925, p. 278.
2. Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1796, p. 465.
3. Capaccio 1630, p. 863.
4. López Grijera 1969, pp. 299–302.
5. Trapier 1952, pp. 36–39.
6. The drawing is now in the E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento, California.
7. Spear 1983, pp. 133–34.
8. Prohaska 1985, pp. 7–14.
9. Konečný 1980, pp. 91–94.
10. Ministero Interni I inv. f. 999.
11. De Rinaldis 1928, pp. 261–62.
12. Trapier 1952, p. 276, n. 38.

PROVENANCE

Giacomo de Castro, Naples (until 1653); Gaspar Roomer, Palazzo di Monteoliveto, Naples (1653–74); Ferdinand Van den Einden, Naples (1674–); Giovanna Van den Einden Colonna (inv. 1688); Bourbon collections, Naples and Palermo (by the late eighteenth century).

EXHIBITIONS

Florence 1922, no. 817, p. 153; London and Washington 1982–83, no. 120, pp. 227–28, and Naples 1982, no. 120, pp. 246–47; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 6, pp. 109–11; Paris 1983, no. 65, pp. 260–61; Naples 1984, vol. 1, no. 2.198, pp. 406–7; Vienna 1985.

REFERENCES

Capaccio 1630, p. 863; García Hidalgo 1691; De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, pp. 16–17; Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1796, p. 465; Colonna 1895, p. 30; Mayer 1908, pp. 52–56; Rolfs 1910, p. 298; Giglioli 1922, p. 204; Mayer 1923, p. 197; Sandrart 1925, p. 278; De Rinaldis 1928, pp. 261–62; San Casciano Val di Pesa 1925–30, pp. 24–25; Trapier 1952, pp. 36–39; Lafuente Ferrari 1953, p. 260; Parks 1954, pp. 4–5; Causa 1957, p. 35; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2271; Waterhouse 1962, p. 175; Molajoli 1964, p. 52; Cuoco 1966; Felton 1969, p. 9; idem 1971, pp. 166–67, no. A.9; Camesasca 1973, no. 5; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 29, p. 95; Chenault Porter 1979, pp. 41–54; Spear 1983, pp. 133–34; Prohaska 1985, pp. 7–14; Nappi 1990, p. 185, no. 63.

17 *Saint Jerome and the Angel of Judgment*

Oil on canvas, 103 1/8 × 64 1/2 in. (262 × 164 cm)

Inscribed at lower right: *Josephus de Ribera / Hispanus Valentin / Setaben . . . Partenope F.* 1626

Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di

Capodimonte, Naples; inv. no. 312

DE DOMINICI relates having seen this painting in a chapel on the Epistle, or right, side of the main altar in the Neapolitan church of SS. Trinità delle Monache, for which Ribera was also to paint the large altarpiece of the *Trinitas Terrestris* (see cat. 18). His description also furnishes a valuable account of the painting's stylistic qualities, emphasizing the naturalism of the figure, surprised in a moment of meditation, the realism of the still-life elements—the books, skull, and rolled parchment—and the precise rendering of the saint's emaciated body.

The subject, treated frequently by Ribera, is mentioned often in inventories of private collections and in records of payment. The ascetic saint is usually depicted with a skull, a stone (symbol of the rigors of penitence), and a parchment inscribed with Hebrew characters—a reference to the long years Jerome spent learning the Hebrew alphabet and translating the Bible into Latin; Jerome's translation was given official sanction by the Council of Trent. The saint's red mantle alludes to his traditional role as a cardinal; the lion at the left refers to the legend that he removed a thorn from the beast's paw, thereby taming him. An eminent scholar, Jerome was venerated as a Doctor of the Church, whose fame derives from his letters and epistles. He is one of the saints most often depicted in western Christian art, either as a penitent isolated in





desolate mountains or as a man of letters in his library, dedicated to a study of the classics. The iconography in this painting was introduced in the second half of the sixteenth century, with the Counter-Reformation's tendency to play down the human qualities of saints in order to link them directly to God, and with the rise of the Hieronymite order, which assumed new prominence in the seventeenth century. The true theme is not the heralding of the Apocalypse but, rather, a reflection on death as a precondition to the reconciliation of the self with God.¹ The trumpet blast has also been interpreted as that of Amos, which Jerome saw as a warning against idolatry and any attachment to material possessions.²

The pyramidal composition of the painting is arranged along two intersecting diagonals, the saint's tri-dimensionality being greatly enhanced by the drab background, relieved at the left with a luminous sky, an indication of the painter's interest in spatial and atmospheric effects. The tie to Caravaggio is apparent both in the depiction of the angel, looking down from the clouds, and in the rigorous examination of light and shade on the still life. The more delicate transitions of light and shade, the plasticity of the forms, the interest in refined color relationships (such as the contrast of the red of the saint's mantle with the white of his clothing or the altered blue of the angel's clothes), and the richness of the draperies mark the passage from a tenebrist phase to the refined painterly style of his works of the 1630s.

There is a replica in the Colegiata of Santa María la Mayor in Toro, near Zamora, Spain, the status of which has not been ascertained.³ A mediocre seventeenth-century copy is in the Brunner collection, Paris; another copy hangs in the Cathedral of Acerra, outside Naples.

The Capodimonte painting was restored in 1929.⁴ A complete restoration was undertaken in 1983 by Bruno Arciprete.

DMP

1. Joan Sureda, *Capolavori dal Museo d'Arte della Catalogna* (Rome, 1990), pp. 40–43.
2. Del Bravo 1988.
3. Oral communication between P. Leone de Castris and the author.
4. State Archives (Ministero Interni, I inv. F. 999).

PROVENANCE

Church of SS. Trinità delle Monache, Naples (until 1813); Museo Napoleonico (1813); Museo Borbonico; Museo di Capodimonte (from 1959).

EXHIBITIONS

Bordeaux 1955, no. 47; London and Washington 1982–83, no. 121, pp. 228–29, and Naples 1982, no. 121, pp. 247–48; Paris 1983, no. 66, pp. 261–62; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 7, pp. 113–17; Naples 1984, vol. 1, no. 2.199, pp. 408–9; Frankfurt 1988, pp. 662–64.

REFERENCES

Sarnelli 1697, p. 312; De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, pp. 11–12; Sigismondo 1788–89, vol. 2, p. 256; Galanti 1792, p. 61; D'Afflitto 1834, vol. 2, p. 92; Nobile 1855, vol. 1, p. 273; Celano 1856–60, vol. 4, pp. 67–68; Galante 1872, p. 364; Spinazzola 1898, p. 48; Fiordelisi 1899, p. 185; Mayer 1908, p. 45; idem 1923, p. 40; De Rinaldis 1928, p. 263, no. 312; Pillement 1929, p. 35; Trapier 1952, pp. 57–59; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2276; Molajoli 1964, p. 52; Felton 1971, pp. 187–90, no. A.21; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 30, p. 96.

18 *God the Father*

Oil on canvas, 43 × 43 in. (109 × 109 cm)
Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte
(deposited in the Appartamento Storico del Palazzo Reale), Naples

IN 1692 CELANO noted the presence of Ribera's large altarpiece of the *Trinitas Terrestis* (fig. 6) in the large marble chapel on the Gospel, or viewer's left, side of the high altar of the church attached to the Convent of Trinità delle Monache. It remained there until 1813, when, with the Napoleonic suppressions, it was moved, along with Ribera's *Saint Jerome and the Angel*

of Judgment (cat. 17), into the new Real Museo Borbonico. Sometime before 1852 it was transferred from that location to the Palazzo Reale in Naples.

In 1742 De Dominici stated that the altarpiece was originally painted for the back wall of the choir in the church of the Certosa di San Martino but was then rejected by the monks because of its cost (a *Nativity* by Guido Reni was chosen for the site instead). The *Trinitas Terrestis* was then sold by Ribera to the Franciscans of the Trinità, with the painter's addition, at the left, of the figures of Saint Bernardino and Saint Bonaventure. De Dominici further reported that above the circle of angels was the flying figure of God the Father, missing from the painting as we see it today. Interestingly, until 1897 there was in the Trinità delle Monache, in the upper part of the large marble altar in the chapel decorated with the *Trinitas*, a separate canvas, clearly by Ribera's hand, depicting the God the Father. This picture, illustrated here, passed first to the Pinacoteca Nazionale, then to the Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri, and is now in the Appartamento Storico del Palazzo Reale, in Naples.

On the basis of De Dominici's comments, Elizabeth Trapier in 1952 hypothesized that the large canvas, originally painted for the Certosa di San Martino and augmented when it was moved to the Trinità delle Monache, was reduced by eliminating the figure of God the Father. She also advanced the theory that the entire composition should be dated shortly before 1635, at which date the group of small angels embracing each other in flight was engraved as part of a heraldic coat of arms of the duke of Alcalá, at that time viceroy of Sicily, which was reproduced as the frontispiece of a volume of the viceroy's recently promulgated laws.¹ Soon thereafter, however, Fitz Darby established that the print was made for the son of the viceroy, the marquess of Tarifa, who died at the age of nineteen in 1633.



18

Trapier's hypothesis was reexamined and corrected by Felton in 1982. Without dismissing the original destination of the altarpiece as San Martino—but before the definitive decoration of its choir—or the presence of the figure of God the Father, Felton correctly identified the central theme of the composition as the *Trinitas Terrestris*: the Madonna with the Infant Jesus and Saint Joseph forming a counterpart to the *Trinitas Coelestis* above, with God the Father and the dove of the Holy Spirit. This is a subject that completely meets the needs of a convent dedicated to the Santissima Trinità; the presence of the various saints tied to monastic orders reflects the exigencies of patrons leading a cloistered life (this would obtain whether or not the figures of Saint Bernardino and Saint Bonaventure were added later). The *God the Father* in the Palazzo Reale would be either a fragment from the upper part of the large composition, cut off in order to adapt the altarpiece to the smaller dimensions of the altar of the Trinità, or, more likely, an autonomous piece, intended to be positioned in the upper section of the marble altarpiece, above the *Trinitas Terrestris*, as described in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century guidebooks.² Finally, Felton proposed a series of stylistic comparisons with Ribera's *Trinity* in the Escorial, which he dated about 1632 and considered a prototype for the Prado painting of the same subject (cat. 31). This would confirm a dating for the *Trinitas Terrestris* between 1632 and 1635.

A recent restoration carried out for the present exhibition has revealed that no additions have been made to the left side of the painting and that the upper area has never been altered or reduced, thus confirming that the *God the Father* was indeed originally painted by Ribera to be framed separately in the upper portion of the marble altarpiece, as had been indicated in early guidebooks. It is not improbable that this second canvas, of much smaller dimensions, was painted later than the altarpiece with

the *Trinitas Terrestris*, since in style it is closer to both versions of the *Trinity* and to the *Immaculate Conception* of 1635 in Salamanca (fig. 17) than to the large altarpiece now in the Palazzo Reale.

Other arguments, in addition to those expressed by Felton, support the hypothesis that the two canvases—linked by a single iconographic and decorative plan—were painted from the beginning for the Trinità delle Monache, and that they are not connected with Ribera's work at the Certosa di San Martino. We must consider that Pompeo Sarnelli, in his *Nuova guida de' forestieri* of 1697, noted that the figure of Saint Bruno, founder of the Carthusian order, had been requested by the nuns of the Trinità because initially they had wanted to adopt the Carthusian rule; they became Franciscans of the third order only after having this request denied. As Fiordelisi amply documented in 1899, the Convent of the Trinità and the attached church were founded by Vittoria de Silva, a Neapolitan noblewoman of Spanish origins, who, after becoming a Franciscan nun with the name of Sister Eufrosina in the Convent of San Girolamo, decided to move to a new convent, the Santissima Trinità, in the Piazza di Santa Maria di Costantinopoli.³ In 1608, at a point when the community had outgrown its quarters, Eufrosina and her sister nuns moved to a new complex, founded two years earlier and also called Santissima Trinità, in the area of Santa Maria di Ognibene, along the slopes of the hill of San Martino, slightly below the Certosa.

Thus, Sarnelli's claim that the nuns wanted to join the Carthusian community is uncorroborated, but it is clear that they desired to submit themselves to a more rigid monastic rule and that they immediately established ties with the Carthusian monks of San Martino. Indeed, there are indications that these ties with the Carthusian community were so close that they influenced the Franciscan nuns' choice of an architect. After having initially employed

the Theatine⁴ Francesco Grimaldi, the nuns, upon his death (or at least from 1615 on), called upon Giovan Giacomo Conforto, who was active during that period on projects for the Certosa di San Martino. Of particular significance is the fact that during the period when the church and its interior decoration were being concentrated on—from 1625 until 1630—the nuns entrusted the management of their project to Cosimo Fanzago, who was now assuming Conforto's previous responsibilities at San Martino. The presence of the figure of Saint Bruno in Ribera's altarpiece, rather than implying an original destination of the Certosa, is explained by the close and productive ties established by the nuns with the nearby complex of San Martino.

In 1626, Ribera painted the *Saint Jerome with the Angel of Judgment* (cat. 17) for the Trinità, and now it appears that he painted the *Trinitas Terrestris* and the *God the Father* for this same church. It is significant that the sisters of the Trinità turned to Marcantonio Doria for help in obtaining the precious marble for Cosimo Fanzago, who probably was creating decorations of a magnificence similar to those later achieved at San Martino. In 1621, Doria—the celebrated Genovese prince and illustrious patron of Caravaggio and of Battistello Caracciolo, as well as a trustworthy friend of Giovan Bernardino Azzolino, Ribera's father-in-law—had large blocks of marble from Carrara and a “mix of marble from Portovenere” sent to Naples. As early as 1616, Doria had been one of Ribera's most assiduous patrons. It is significant that, according to the sources, the sisters of the Trinità relied on Azzolino for the fresco decoration of the dome and vault of the church. Azzolino must have been interested in his son-in-law receiving a prestigious public commission in Naples.

On September 20, 1621, Ribera received the very high sum of forty ducats, meant solely for the purchase of colors. This can hardly have been for the *Saint Jerome* now in

the Capodimonte, but instead for a canvas of even larger dimensions, such as the altarpiece in the Palazzo Reale. This does not necessarily mean that work began immediately after the purchase of the colors or that these same materials might not have been used for the *Saint Jerome* also; the marble decoration of the church was not completed by Fanzago until 1628 and was paid for by 1630. It is only by this date that the paintings by Ribera, as well as paintings by Fabrizio Santafede, Azzolino, and Battistello Caracciolo, would already have been in place. A date shortly after 1626 and before 1630 is also suggested by an analysis of the style, which brings the work into line with the *Saint Jerome* and *Drunken Silenus*, both of 1626, as well as those apostles and prophets painted between 1630 and 1632.

NS

1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and Albertina Museum, Vienna.
2. Sigismondo 1788–89, and Galante 1872.
3. Also see Savarese 1986, pp. 173–81.
4. A priest of the Order of Clerks Regular founded in 1524 in Italy by Saint Cajetan and Gian Pietro Caraffa to reform Catholic morality and combat Lutheranism.

PROVENANCE

Church of SS. Trinità delle Monache (until 1897); Pinacoteca Nazionale, Naples (on deposit with the Museo Civico "Gaetano Filangieri" and the Museo dell'Appartamento Storico del Palazzo Reale).

EXHIBITIONS

Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 139–45, no. 14 (only the *God the Father*).

REFERENCES

Sarnelli 1697; De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, pp. 11–12; Galante 1872, pp. 363–65; Fiordelisi 1899, pp. 184–86; Trapier 1952, p. 107; Celano 1970, vol. 3, p. 1061; Felton 1971, vol. 1, pp. 216–19; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 105, no. 88; Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 139–45.

19 *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*

Oil on canvas, 57 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 85 in. (145 × 216 cm)
Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence;
inv. no. 19

ALTHOUGH highly esteemed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this work has only recently been restored to its former place of eminence in Ribera's production during the years 1628 to 1630.

In composition this painting can be considered a variation of the engraving of 1624 (cat. 82), which, however, has a vertical format. The saint is shown laid out in the opposite direction, and the boy, who in the print is in shadow on the left, is shown on the right, his face lit, sharpening his knife. The executioner, about to carry out his terrible duty, is behind the saint, who, lying on the diagonal and sharply illuminated, calls to mind the position of the figure of Saint Andrew in the Budapest *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* (cat. 20). A classical head—an allusion to the Roman deities Saint Bartholomew refused to worship—appears in the foreground; the figure who restrains the saint fills the left part of the composition (as does his counterpart in the Budapest canvas), acquiring considerable importance. In the middle ground, as in the engraving, are small-scale figures in conversation.

Technically also, the painting is close to works from 1628 to 1630. This was the period of Ribera's greatest identification with the style of Caravaggio, characterized by expressive vigor and intense contrasts of light and dark. *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* reveals a direct relation to several compositions by Caravaggio: the marked diagonal relates to the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome; the positioning of the saint's head and arms, though modified, to the *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew* in the Church of

San Luigi dei Francesi. The classical sculpture and the white drapery at the right relate to Ribera's series of the Five Senses, especially to the *Sense of Touch* (cat. 5).

The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew is first mentioned by Cinelli in 1677 as in the Capponi family collection in San Friano.¹ It must have been acquired for the Medici collection in the time of Ferdinand III de' Medici (1769–1824) and is first recorded in the Galleria Palatina of the Palazzo Pitti in 1828.

A faithful copy of notable quality, somewhat less refined in execution but surely from the seventeenth century, is also in the Palazzo Pitti.² Probably commissioned by the grand duke of Tuscany, it is mentioned in the palace archives from the second half of the 1600s, before the original could be obtained from the Capponi family.

Another related painting is in the Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture, Grenoble.³ It is clearly independent in execution, although its inferior quality proclaims it a studio work. A copy of the Grenoble canvas hangs in the Ospedale degli Incurabili in Naples. Another painting of the same subject has been in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, since 1936, when it was acquired as part of the Burnay collection.⁴ Its composition, while maintaining the same elements, can be considered independent, although it, too, is linked to the Ribera engraving of 1624.

An old copy of Ribera's composition, but of larger dimensions (178 × 235 cm), is in the Academia de San Fernando.⁵ Another painting that belonged to the Szymansky collection in Beverly Hills, California,⁶ was surely executed by an imitator or pupil who altered the proportions of the composition.

Mattia Preti drew inspiration from the Pitti canvas for his picture formerly in the Bragoretti collection in L'Aquila.

AEPS

1. Cinelli 1677, p. 287.

2. Florence 1970, no. 71.



3. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 34a.
4. Ibid., no. 34d.
5. *Guía del Museo de la Real Academia de San Fernando* (1991), vol. 2, p. 70, no. 5. The work is no. 313 in the Academia inventory.
6. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 461.

PROVENANCE

Capponi collection, Florence (by 1677); probably Ferdinand III de' Medici, Medici collection; Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (by 1828).

EXHIBITIONS

Florence 1970, no. 73.

REFERENCES

Inghirami 1828, p. 16; Mayer 1923, p. 208 (as school of Ribera); Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2296; Ciaranfi 1964; Florence 1970, no. 73; Felton 1971, no. A.15; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 34.

20 *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew*

Oil on canvas, 9 ft. 4 in. × 82¼ in. (285 × 209 cm)

Signed and dated: *Joseph a Ribera Hispanus / Valentinus Setaben. Aca. Rom. / Partenope F. / 1628*

Budapest Museum of Fine Arts

THIS is one of the most complex and ambitious paintings of Ribera's early maturity in Naples. The concern for drama and space testifies to the painter's affinity to Caravaggio and, less directly, to the Caravaggesque work of Guido Reni. The diagonal thrust of the composition, with the saint's naked body starkly illuminated and the heads of the executioners emerging from the shadows, derives from Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, while the stone on which the cross rests and the emphasis on perspective by showing the cross laterally recall Caravaggio's *Entombment*, in the

Pinacoteca Vaticana, in which similar elements are employed to define the space and to give focus to the composition.

It is worth noting, however, that while the composition represents the preparations for a martyr's death, it is pervaded with an atmosphere of meditative calm. There is nothing violent or agitated about it. Although Ribera creates a monumental composition and insists with absolute perfectionism on realistic details, he also introduces light touches of color in the distant landscape. Gone is the polished finish of his first Roman works, which has been replaced with a thick and dense impasto. This development should not be judged as a response to Venetian art, as suggested by Trapier, who felt that the figure of the priest displaying the small image of Jupiter was derived from the priest in Veronese's *Martyrdom of Saint George* in San Giorgio in Braida, Verona. The similarity is too generic, and, as Trapier herself admitted, the other figures in Veronese's canvas have too little in common with Ribera's.

The canvas undoubtedly belonged to the admiral of Castile, Don Juan Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera, in whose inventory it appears in 1647,¹ with the extremely high value of 6,000 reals. The canvas was donated by Don Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera to the Convent of San Pascual in Madrid, where it was seen by Ponz, whose brief description corroborates the identification: "In this same passage are two large paintings by Lo Spagnoletto: one represents a holy hermit and the other the martyrdom of a saint being urged by a priest to worship an idol." Undoubtedly removed from its site during the Napoleonic Wars, the canvas passed into the hands of the painter and furniture maker Andrés del Peral. About 1818, Peral sold it to the Austrian ambassador, the prince de Kaunitz, "for 20 or 24,000 reals," as Vicente López recounted in a letter to Don Tomás de Veri, a Mallorcan nobleman who apparently also was interested in acquiring the painting. Its purported

provenance in the collection of the Knight of Calatrava, Don Jerónimo de la Torre, is without foundation. As Haraszti-Takács points out, de la Torre donated his canvases to the Madrid Convent of Los Angeles in 1658.

Mentioned in the inventory of the collection of Admiral de Cabrera, along with the present work, is "a large painting of the Martyrdom of S. Andrew, with a gilded frame: it is a copy of Jusepe de Ribera." Listed as number 84 and valued at 940 reals, it can be identified as one of two faithful copies known: one in the Palacio Real, Madrid, from the collection of the marquis of Salamanca; the other in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, currently on loan to the Musée Goya, Castres.

Other copies are known: one in a private collection in Hamburg, one now in the Suwalow collection in Vienna,² and another, smaller one, painted by F. G. Waldmüller, a former director of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, where it still is.

Spinosa³ would now date this picture to 1638 rather than 1628.

AEPS

1. Fernández Duro 1902, no. 411, p. 203.
2. Acquired at auction, Lepke Gallery, Berlin, 1921.
3. Madrid 1992, p. 55.

PROVENANCE

Don Juan Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera, admiral of Castile (inv. 1647); Don Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera (from 1647); Convent of San Pascual, Madrid; Andrés del Peral (ca. 1816–ca. 1818); Kaunitz collection, Vienna (1818–sale 1820); Prince Miklós Esterházy, Budapest (1820–33); the Esterházy collection (1833–70); the Hungarian State collections (since 1871).

EXHIBITIONS

Budapest 1965, no. 42.

REFERENCES

Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 192; Rohrmann 1844, p. 32; Fernández Duro 1902, no. 410, p. 193; Ayerbe 1920, p. 86; Mayer 1923, p. 64; Ponz 1947, p. 422; Trapier 1952, pp. 47–48; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2272; Felton 1971, no. A.17, p. 178; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 32; Glendinning 1981, pp. 245, 247; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 54; Haraszti-Takács 1982, pp. 47–48.



21 *The Penitent Saint Peter*

Oil on canvas, 49¼ × 38¼ in. (126.5 × 97 cm)

Signed: *Jusepe R...*

Private collection, England

THIS PAINTING was recorded at the end of the nineteenth century in the collection of Sir Stephenson Clarke, with no mention of its previous owners. Its theme is one of those Ribera illustrated most frequently from his first days in Naples: Saint Peter repenting his denial of Christ. The apostle is usually depicted weeping as he kneels in prayer, as in the Osuna canvas of about 1617; seated in meditation, his up-lifted eyes filled with tears, as in a composition known principally from workshop replicas or seventeenth-century copies;¹ in half-length, weeping and clasping his hands;² or, more rarely, gazing upward with one hand raised, as shown here. Of this final type, there are only a few derivations and replicas of modest quality. One of them, formerly in the Museo Sorolla, Madrid, was in very poor condition and subsequently destroyed; another is in a private collection in Barcelona (photographs of both are in the Archivo M.A.S., Barcelona); a third, formerly in the Costantini collection in Rome and prior to that in a Neapolitan collection, bore an improbable attribution to Bernardo Cavallino.

The present painting of the penitent saint possesses a quality of intense naturalism, particularly in the light that passes over the forms, defining their solid volumes; in the realistic rendering of materials; and in the sincerity of feeling and attitude; these qualities point to an authentic work by the master, painted when he was at the height of his powers. Among the traits that may suggest an early date, at the beginning of Ribera's Neapolitan activity and close in time to *The Penitent Saint Peter* of Osuna, are



the studied simplicity of the composition, conceived in two perspectival planes that emphasize the monumentality of the figure; the dry and dense handling of the strongly modeled hands and heavy drapery, whose deep color is skillfully animated by the light; and the minute but not overly precious attention to each detail of physiognomy and expression, treated with an eye to what is pictorially essential. Nevertheless, it is the

expressive interpretation of Saint Peter—more humanely approachable by comparison with the austerity of Ribera's earlier images—together with a broader handling and a more refined treatment of color and light, that points to a later date: between the Capodimonte *Saint Jerome* of 1626 (cat. 17) and those extraordinary examples of profound humanity—the apostles and philosophers painted in the early 1630s, from

the *Democritus* in the Prado (cat. 22) to the *Saint Peter* of 1632 in the same museum, the latter already paired with the *Saint Paul* recently identified by Pérez Sánchez.

NS

1. Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, nos. 339–47, p. 135.

2. *Ibid.*, nos. 333–36.

PROVENANCE

Collection of Sir Stephenson Clarke (end of the 19th c.).

22 *Democritus* (traditionally called *Archimedes*)

Oil on canvas, 49¼ × 31⅞ in. (125 × 81 cm)

Signed and dated at lower left: *Jusepe de Ribera español/F. 1630*

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1121

PREVIOUSLY AT THE MUSEUM of the Escorial, this painting has figured in the Spanish royal collections since at least 1700. It is almost universally considered one of the most intense and expressive works from this period in Ribera's oeuvre.¹ The inscribed date makes it a key for dating works of analogous character and technique.

The intensity of expression, much commented upon, gives the painting a portrait-like quality, as “of some peasant from the alleys of viceregal Naples, whose ancient Greco-Levantine traits were distilled by the painter into an image of typically irrepres- sible Mediterranean vitality and humanity.”²

On the basis of a similarity between Ribera's figure and the tipplers in Velázquez's *Feast of Bacchus*, dated 1629 and therefore contemporaneous with Ribera's canvas, the influence of Velázquez (who visited Naples in 1630) has sometimes been dis-



cerned. Trapier, however, remarked on the great differences between the two works. What in Ribera is still an almost Flemish meticulousness and obsessive realism of detail is, in Velázquez, more freely and synthetically interpreted with a notably different technique.

The figure has been variously identified. In the earliest references, he is simply called "a philosopher," while at the Prado, he has traditionally been known as Archimedes, undoubtedly because of the compass. De Madrazo describes him as "the famous geometrician of Syracuse . . . with the compass in his right hand and some papers in his left." Tormo and Fitz Darby associate him with Democritus because of his smiling countenance; Ferrari concurs with this latter identification.

The picture has been thought one of the philosopher canvases owned by the third duke of Alcalá, referred to in the inventory of his Seville house, the Casa de Pilatos, after his death in 1637.³ While the picture possibly can be identified as the "Philosopher with a compass" mentioned in the inventory, a compass is also present in a *Philosopher* in Tucson that Ferrari believes to be Heracleitus,⁴ and once part of the Alcalá group. That the Tucson picture was part of a philosopher series is suggested by the inclusion of a copy of it in a group of six paintings belonging to Count Matarazzo de Licos, which was sold separately at Christie's on November 17, 1972. That series probably records the original group painted for Alcalá, but it contained no copy of the Prado *Democritus*. A compass also appears in another picture from the same group that is known only by the copy. Ferrari identifies that philosopher as Aristotle.⁵

Although it is possible that the difference in dimensions of the Prado canvas and those relating to the Alcalá series (especially the Tucson picture, which measures 129 × 91 cm) may be the result of trimming, this is another factor that ought to be borne in mind. Nor should it be for-

gotten that in 1655 the marquess of Leganés owned "four paintings of philosophers," each measuring about 110 by 106 centimeters (1½ × 1¼ varas) and valued at a thousand reals apiece.⁶ The four have never been considered in any study of the philosopher series, but the paintings may well have passed into the royal collection.

The Prado canvas is precisely described in Escorial records of 1763, and it must be one of the "philosophers" referred to without any further description in the inventory taken in 1700, after the death of Charles II: "Five paintings, three of them three varas high and approximately a vara wide, and the other two a vara and a half high and a vara and a quarter wide, including their plain gilded frames, in which different philosophers are depicted, by the hand of Jusepe de Rivera, each valued at one hundred ducats and all of them at five hundred." The dimensions of the first three (240 × 80 cm) seem odd and may be an error in the inventory, but the other two (120 × 100 cm) are very close to the dimensions of the Prado canvas if the frame is included and allowance made for a certain approximation. It is possible, as Fitz Darby has suggested,⁷ that the paintings were sent to the palace after a fire at the Escorial Monastery in 1671. Padre Santos does not include the Prado canvas among the paintings he recorded with exactitude in his *Descripción de El Escorial* (editions of 1681 and 1698, after the fire), though he does mention "others here by [Ribera's] hand."

Padre Ximénez referred to the painting as *Archimedes* in 1764, locating it in the Primera Sala of the royal apartments at the Escorial,⁸ which also contained *Euclid*, *Aesop*, *Cryssip*, and the *Sense of Touch* (cat. 27); it was titled *Archimedes* when it came to the Prado in 1837. It had, however, already been cited as *Democritus* by E. Clarke.⁹ Again, about 1923, Tormo called it *Democritus*, apparently, as Fitz Darby asserted, its most accurate identification.

AEPS

1. Felton (1971, p. 376) alone has thought it a studio work.
2. Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 40, p. 99.
3. Brown and Kagan 1987, p. 243.
4. For an illustration, see Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 41. The painting is in the University of Arizona Museum of Art.
5. For an illustration of the painting, see Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 241.
6. López Navio 1962, p. 318.
7. Fitz Darby 1962.
8. Ximénez 1764, p. 170.
9. Clarke 1763, p. 152.

PROVENANCE

Royal Collections of Spain; Monastery of the Escorial (by 1700); Museo del Prado (from 1837).

EXHIBITIONS

San Antonio 1968; Leningrad and Moscow 1980, no. 12; Tokyo 1985, no. 17; Florence 1985.

REFERENCES

- Clarke 1763, p. 152; Ximénez 1764, p. 170; catalogues of the Museo del Prado, 1854–58, no. 482; idem 1872–1907, no. 1010; idem 1910–85, no. 1121; Mayer 1923, pp. 68–69, 199; Tormo y Monzó 1922/23, p. 16, fig. 1; Ponz 1947, p. 213; Trapier 1952, pp. 64–65; Justi 1953, p. 310; Fitz Darby 1962, pp. 279–307; Angulo Iñiguez 1971, p. 115; Felton 1971, no. S.57, p. 375; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 40; Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 149–52; Ferrari 1986, pp. 112–13, 156; Brown and Kagan 1987, p. 243, fig. 10.

23 Saint Andrew

Oil on canvas, 48⅞ × 37⅞ in. (123 × 95 cm)
Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1078

RIBERA HAS represented the brother of the apostle Peter—like him, a fisherman—as noble in his rustic nudity. The expression of meditative melancholy, as if Andrew were foreseeing his martyrdom, is in contrast to the passionate fervor in Ribera's earlier depictions, including a canvas from about 1620

in the Quadreria dei Girolamini, Naples, and the scene of his martyrdom, in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (cat. 20).

The tenebrist approach is indicative of a moment of intense Caravaggism—probably about 1630—and relates to other works from the same period showing a similar meticulous attention to detail and a dense impasto that confers an astonishing effect of analytic veracity and tactility. Particularly close to the *Saint Andrew* are figures from Ribera's *Philosopher* series, such as the *Plato*, signed in 1630, now in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens; the philosopher in Tucson;¹ and the *Democritus* recently acquired by the Museo de Bellas Artes, Valencia, all datable to about 1630. Ribera used the same type of figure on other occasions, notably in the *Philosopher*, or *Holy Hermit*, from the Durazzo Pallavicini collection,² which must be assigned to the same period.

This *Saint Andrew* appeared in an inventory of the Monastery of the Escorial in 1700, paired with a *Saint Simon*, also at the Prado. It probably belonged to an *Apostolado* (a series of apostles), several of which Ribera painted in these years. The half-length format was probably partly inspired by engravings after a series painted by Rubens in 1612–13. The earliest record of such a series by Ribera in Spain is in the 1659 inventory of Don Claudio Pimentel, a knight of the Order of Alcántara. This may be the same series that—a century later—was seen by Ponz in the Casita del Príncipe at the Escorial. Ponz saw another such series in the Church of Santa Isabel in Madrid.

AEPS

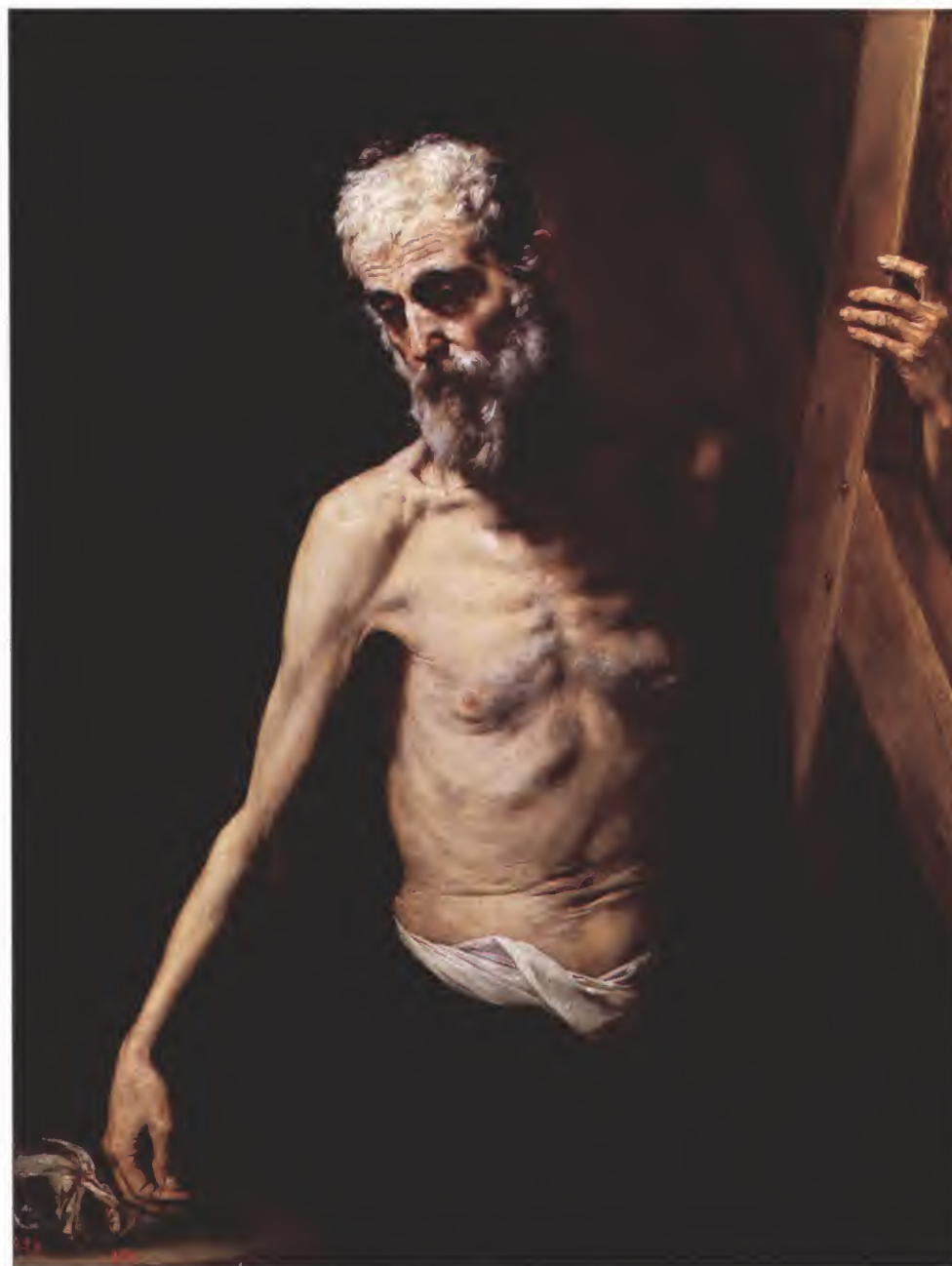
1. Pérez Sánchez and Spinoso 1978, no. 41.
2. *Ibid.*, no. 43.

PROVENANCE

Monastery of the Escorial (inv. 1700); Museo del Prado (since 1837).

EXHIBITIONS

Geneva 1939, no. 72; Tokyo 1970, no. 36; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 8.



REFERENCES

Ximénez 1764, p. 171; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 191; catalogues of the Museo del Prado 1854–58, no. 458; *idem* 1872–1907, no. 973; *idem* 1910–85, no. 1078; Tormo y Monzó 1922/23, fig. 26; Mayer 1923, p. 75; Ponz 1947, p. 213; Trapier 1952, p. 96; Felton 1971, no. A.20, p. 185; Pérez Sánchez and Spinoso 1978, no. 42; Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 119–21.

24 *Saint Roch*

Oil on canvas, 83½ × 56¼ in. (212 × 144 cm)
Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera / español F. 1631*

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1109

LIKE its companion *Saint James the Great*, this picture was in the Escorial by 1657 and



was transferred to the Prado in 1877. As early as 1800 Ceán Bermúdez referred to the two paintings as a pair. The dates in the inscriptions, which are not easily legible, have been read by Mayer as 1631 and by Trapier as 1651. Felton, who admittedly found almost imperceptible differences of style between the two canvases, dated the *Saint Roch* 1631 and the *Saint James* 1651.

As Spinosa also observed, the stylistic differences between the two are minimal. The slight disparity in their dimensions, which originally must have been identical, results from a past restoration. In 1657, Velázquez installed the two canvases in the Escorial, placing the *Saint James* in the priory chapter house and the *Saint Roch* in the priory, both on the windowed wall.

In its technique, and even in its figure type, the *Saint Roch* corresponds closely to the canvases of the *Apostolado* and bears out everything we know of Ribera's working method about 1631. The monumentality of the figure and the presence of a solid, vertical supporting element, which emphasizes the calm solemnity of the figure, relate this work to *The Bearded Woman* (cat. 25), painted the same year. The vivid realism of the dog, the saint's inseparable companion, is a fine example of Ribera's masterly representation of animals.

AEPS

PROVENANCE

Royal Collections of Spain; Monastery of the Escorial (by 1657); Museo del Prado (since 1837).

REFERENCES

Santos 1667, pp. 79–80; idem 1681, p. 67v; idem 1698, p. 82v; Ximénez 1764, pp. 101–2; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 190; catalogues of the Museo del Prado 1854–58, no. 440; idem 1871–1907, no. 1000; idem 1910–85, no. 1109; Mayer 1923, p. 197; Tormo y Monzó 1922/23, pl. 5; Ponz 1947, p. 185; Trapier 1952, pp. 216–17, fig. 142; Felton 1971, no. A.29, p. 200; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 47.

25 *The Bearded Woman* (*Magdalena Ventura with Her Husband*)

Oil on canvas, 77 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 50 in. (196 × 127 cm)
Signed and dated on stone blocks at lower right: EN MAGNU[M] NATURAE / MIRACULUM / MAGDALENA VENTURA EX / OPPIDO ACUMULI APUD / SAMNITES VULGO EL A / BRUZZO REGNI NEAPOLI / TANI ANNORUM 52 ET / QUOD INSOLENS EST CU[M] / ANNUM 37 AGERET COE / PIT PUBESCERE EOQUE / BARBA DEMISSA AL PRO / LIXA EXT VI POTIUS / ALCIVIOS MAGISTRI BARBATI / ESSE VIDEATUR QUAM MU / LIERIS QUAE TRES FILIOS / ANTE AMISERIT QUOS EX / VIRO SUO FELICI DE AMICI / QUEM ADESSE VIDES HA / BUERAT / JOSEPHUS DE RIBERA HIS / PANUS CHRISTI CRUCE / INSIGNITUS SUI TEM / PORIS ALTER APPELLES / JUSSU FERDINAND II / DUCIS III DE ALCALA / NEAPOLI PROREGIS AD / VIVUM MIRE DEPINXIT / XIIIJ KALEND. MART. / ANNO MDCXXXI.

Palacio Lerma, Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli, Toledo

THIS WORK was commissioned by the viceroy Don Fernando Afán de Ribera y Enríquez (1570–1637), third duke of Alcalá. A curious document concerning its execution was recently brought to light,¹ in which the Venetian ambassador to Naples records his visit to the painter's studio on February 11, 1631: "In the rooms of the viceroy, there was an extremely famous painter who was making a portrait of an Abruzzi woman, married and the mother of many children, who has a completely masculine face, with a beautiful black beard more than a *palm* long and a very hairy chest. His Excellency wanted me to see her, thinking it was a marvelous thing, and truly it is."

The canvas is dated February 16, five days after this visit. It remained in the Alcalá family collection and was subsequently combined with that of the ducal house of

Medinaceli, to which it belonged in 1808. Sent to the Musée Napoléon in Paris, it went back to Spain in 1813 and hung in the Academia de San Fernando, in whose catalogues it was listed between 1818 and 1829. Ultimately, it was returned to the Medinaceli family, passing by inheritance to the Lerma family, which placed it in Toledo in the Hospital de Tavera, seat of the Fundación Lerma.

A small copy or replica in the Palace of La Granja is mentioned by Ponz and by Ceán Bermúdez.² Another copy is cited in the Ruíz de Alda collection in Madrid. In 1884 Pedro de Madrazo³ confused the Ribera canvas with the portrait of another bearded woman, Brígida del Río, who came to the Madrid court in 1590 and was painted by Sánchez Cotán.⁴

Ribera's superb and singular canvas is not only unique in his oeuvre but also one of the most curious works in Spanish, or indeed European, painting of the time. Though its documentary character is made clear both by what we know of its genesis and by the long, explicit inscription, the artist's genius has transformed an abnormal, almost repugnant medical case into a superb work of art. The beauty of the pictorial treatment combines with a clear suggestion of mystery: the rich psychological drama implicit in the masculinization of the wife and the resigned bitterness of the husband is expressed with a touching intensity.

The painting, dated 1631, is still Caravaggesque in its use of light: a dense and dramatic darkness from which emerge elements of astonishing immediacy, strengthened by uncompromising illumination. The forms are modeled in thick, precise brushstrokes that are skillfully used to suggest distinct textures. No wrinkle or deformity is glossed over, and the various fabrics are interpreted with admirable tactile precision. The small group of accessory elements on the blocks of stone creates a still life, doubtless invested with a symbolic meaning: the



spindle is a feminine attribute that alludes to domestic labor; beside it is what has sometimes been seen as a seashell—a hermaphroditic symbol. The latter interpretation, however, seems unacceptable: the object appears to be a bobbin with wool threads and was probably intended to corroborate the subject's femininity in paradoxical contrast to her masculine appearance. In addition to the painting's documentary function, relating it to a certain kind of protoscientific, analytical naturalism, it may also aspire to a more profound, symbolic meaning.

The canvas was well known in the eighteenth century. Goya, an assiduous visitor to the aristocratic collections of Madrid, alludes to it in a drawing, now in a private American collection,⁵ that represents a bearded woman holding a child and bears an inscription in Goya's hand: "This woman was painted in Naples by Ribera, Lo Spagnoletto around 1640."

AEPS

1. De Vito 1983a, p. 43.

2. 1800, vol. 4, p. 193.

3. De Madrazo 1884, p. 87.

4. Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez, *Pintura toledana* (1972), p. 92, no. 172, fig. 69.

5. Gassier and Wilson, *Goya*, no. 395 (1970), E.22.

PROVENANCE

Don Fernando Afán de Ribera y Enríquez, third duke of Alcalá (1631–37); Medinaceli family, Naples (by 1808); Musée Napoléon, Paris (until 1813); Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (1813; cats. 1818–29); Medinaceli family; Lerma family; Hospital de Tavera.

EXHIBITIONS

Bordeaux 1955, no. 49; Brussels 1970, no. 21; London 1976c, no. 28; Paris 1976, no. 47; Caracas 1981, no. 30; Munich and Vienna 1982, no. 70; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 11; Tokyo 1985, no. 18.

REFERENCES

Catalogues of the Real Academia de San Fernando 1818, no. 280, p. 32; idem 1819, no. 139, p. 19; idem 1821, no. 140, p. 20; idem 1824, no. 6, p. 33; idem 1829, no. 33, p. 22; De Madrazo 1884, pp. 87, 301–2; Tormo y Monzó 1916a, pp. 11–16; Mayer 1923, p. 197; Pillement 1929, pp. 38–39; Beroqui 1933, p. 97; Sánchez Cantón, 1923–41, vol. 5, p. xxiii; Mayer

1947, p. 293; Ponz 1947, p. 498; Pantorba 1947, p. 293; Brayer 1949, p. 25; catalogue of Fundación Lerma, Toledo 1951, p. 18; Trapier 1952, pp. 70–71, fig. 45; Rouchès 1958, pp. 149–50; Guinard 1967, p. 232; Hodge and Ravin 1969, p. 1696; Angulo Iñiguez 1971, p. 97, fig. 81; Felton 1971, no. A.28, p. 197; Rof Carballo 1975; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 99; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 11.

26 *Ixion*

Oil on canvas, 9 ft. 10½ in. × 86⅞ in. (301 × 220 cm)

Signed and dated: *Jusep de Ribera / F. 1632*
Museo del Prado, Madrid

THIS PAINTING, one of Ribera's most violent in conception and composition, is from a series of the Damned that the artist painted in the style of those Titian executed for María of Hungary. The four Damned—*Tityus*, *Ixion*, *Tantalus*, and *Sisyphus*, all of whom were punished for impiety, disobedience, or ingratitude—have always been construed as a grave warning to the subjects of a monarchy who ruled by divine right.

The story of *Ixion* is referred to in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4: 461). *Ixion*, sometimes called the Greek Cain, was apparently the first man to murder one of his own blood. He also attempted to seduce Juno. Juno and Jupiter had formed a cloud in the goddess's likeness, which *Ixion* embraced, engendering Centaurus and the centaur race. His punishment for seducing Juno was to be tied for eternity to a revolving wheel, sometimes represented as spinning by itself and sometimes, as in this work, propelled by a diabolical figure.

In 1675, Sandrart described a series of the Damned painted for Lucas van Uffel

of Amsterdam; he went on to say that the patron's wife, Jacoba, gave birth to a deformed child, as a result of having looked at the series, especially the *Ixion*, whose misshapen hand so affected her that her child was born with a similar malformation. Palomino repeated the story in 1724, adding that the canvases were then moved to Madrid. Ribera's *Ixion* and its companion, *Tityus*, both in the Prado, were long believed to have survived from that series, despite the fact that the *Ixion* does not include the detail of the distorted hand mentioned by Sandrart and Palomino. In fact, the series described by Sandrart is known through copies in the Prado.

Subsequently, it has been proved that the *Ixion* and *Tityus* are from another series.¹ The *Ixion* must be one of a pair of canvases acquired in 1634 by Don Jerónimo de Villamena from the marquess of Charela to decorate the Palace of Buen Retiro on the feast days of Saints Paul and John, for the relevant document mentions a "Torment of *Ixion*."²

The painting was listed in the inventory of the Alcázar in 1666 as "one being tortured" (valued at the same amount as the *Sisyphus* [i.e., *Tityus*]). It then passed to the Buen Retiro, where from 1700 it appeared, along with its pendant, now called *Tityus*, and another series of four Damned (considered copies after Ribera and assessed at a much lower value) in the palace inventories.

Brown has demonstrated that the canvas should be viewed not horizontally but vertically.³ When viewed upright, the composition is balanced, the giant's shoulder and arm forming a solid base, and the satyr who ties *Ixion*'s legs to the wheel appearing in a comprehensible position.

Although the painting, like its companion, is damaged and much darkened, it is an extremely important example of Ribera's *terribilità*. Compositionally, its enthusiastic portrayal of the gigantic surely harks back to Ribera's youthful trip to Bologna and his study of late Mannerist works, such as





Tibaldi's *Stories of Polyphemus* in the Palazzo Poggi, and even to certain aspects of Lodovico Carracci's extremely dramatic visions.

Trapier doubted the identification of the subject, suggesting instead that it might represent a scene of contemporary torture. The presence of the satyr, however, contradicts her theory.

AEPS

N.B. Brown's arguments notwithstanding, it still seems possible that the *Ixion* was intended to be viewed horizontally, with the signature in the lower right. In this way Ixion would appear tied to the wheel, about to be rotated into the viewer's space by a demon emerging from the fiery depths of Hades.

KC

1. Pérez Sánchez 1974, pp. 241ff.

2. Brown 1979, pp. 174–78.

3. Ibid.

PROVENANCE

The marquess of Charela (until 1634); Royal Collections of Spain (from 1634); the Alcázar (inv. 1666); the Buen Retiro (invs. 1701, 1794); Museo del Prado (from 1819).

REFERENCES

Mayans y Siscar 1776, p. 53; Conca 1793–97, vol. 1, p. 87; De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 16; Sandrart 1925, p. 278; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 192; Mayer 1923, p. 78; Palomino 1947, p. 872; Ponz 1947, p. 552; Trapier 1952, pp. 81–82, figs. 59, 60; Bottineau 1958, p. 290 (where referred to as the "Martyrdom of Saint Philip"); Felton 1971, no. A.35, p. 208; Pérez Sánchez 1974, pp. 241ff.; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 76; Brown 1979, pp. 174–78; De Vito 1983a, pp. 44ff.; López Torrijos 1985, pp. 400ff.

27 *Sense of Touch* (*Il cieco di Gambassi*)

Oil on canvas, 49¼ × 38⅞ in. (125 × 98 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera / F. 1632*

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1112

ALTHOUGH THIS IS ONE of the most important works from the middle years of

Ribera's career, Longhi (who undoubtedly based his judgment on photographs taken before the restoration of the canvas) and, later, Felton considered it a studio work. (Felton now accepts its autograph status.)

Despite its poor state, the picture possesses a powerful intensity. The strong light, still inspired by Caravaggio, and the marble bust, as well as the figure's clothing and beard, attest to the painter's extraordinary ability to convey the material quality of objects. The background is treated with a luminosity that, although already perceptible in the Prado *Saint James* of 1631, separates this work from the rigorous tenebrism of the Apostles series (cats. 23, 24).

The subject appears to be the sense of sight, given the similarity to Ribera's early series of the Five Senses, painted in Rome (cats. 2–5). However, it was once considered a portrait of the blind sculptor Giovanni Gomelli di Gambassi (1603–1664), of whom Baldinucci wrote a detailed biography. Padre Ximénez, in his description of the Escorial in 1764, referred to the painting as a representation of Gambassi and related it (as had the Escorial inventory of 1700) to other philosophers and wise men, or "heroes of the Sciences and Arts," among whom he cited Euclid, Archimedes (cat. 22), "Hisopo" (Aesop), and Cryssip. Of this canvas Ximénez wrote: "He examines, by means of touch, the Symmetry and Features of a still-incomplete head that he holds between his hands."

Ponz described the work simply as "a blind man feeling the head of a statue." Trapier observed that since the blind sculptor was born in 1603, he would have been twenty-nine years of age in 1632, whereas the painted figure appears much older. Since the early series of the Five Senses was not yet identified, she used Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla pittura* to support her belief that the subject represented the sense of touch. In 1966, Fitz Darby proposed that the canvas depicted the philosopher Carneades, who, having lost his sight, identified by touch

a bust of Panisco, a forest deity associated with the young Pan. This theory would explain the work's inclusion in a philosopher series and suggests a secondary meaning of the canvas, the depiction of a personification of the sense of touch through the classical tale. In a recent discussion of the iconography of the canvas, Felton pointed out the intense concentration in the face as the fingers carefully explore the marble surface.¹ Since the *Sense of Touch* in Ribera's youthful series (cat. 5) also depicts a blind man fingering a sculpture, but with a painting of a head on a table before him, the interpretation of this Madrid canvas as the *Sense of Touch* seems only logical.

That the model for the enigmatic blind man is the same as in the *Blind Man with His Guide* in the Allen Memorial Art Museum of Oberlin College² leads to the speculation that Ribera used an actual sightless man to pose for these paintings.

AEPS

1. Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 97.

2. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 64.

PROVENANCE

Royal Collections of Spain, Monastery of the Escorial (invs. 1700, 1764); Museo del Prado (from 1837).

EXHIBITIONS

Buenos Aires 1980, pp. 52–53; Leningrad and Moscow 1980, no. 11; Amsterdam 1985, no. 13, p. 60.

REFERENCES

Ximénez 1764, p. 170; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 190; Tormo y Monzó 1922/23, fig. 8; Mayer 1923, p. 197; Ponz 1947, p. 213; Trapier 1952, p. 77; Fitz Darby 1957, pp. 195–215; idem 1962; Felton 1971, no. S.58, pp. 376–77; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 65; Brown 1984, p. 149; Hecht 1984, p. 125; Ferrari 1986, p. 151.



28 *Jacob with His Flocks*

Oil on canvas, 68½ × 86¼ in. (174 × 219 cm)

Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F.1632*

Patrimonio Nacional, Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, Madrid

THIS BEAUTIFUL and famous canvas, restored expressly for this exhibition, is among Ribera's masterpieces and is a key work in the painter's stylistic evolution. The possible influence of Velázquez is sometimes mentioned, although a specific reference is unlikely. Velázquez was in Naples only briefly in 1630 and while there painted a portrait of Philip IV's sister María of Hungary. The transformation in Ribera's use of light in this canvas has been ascribed to the strong impression made on him by the works of Giovanni Battista Castiglione. That great Genoese artist was in Rome from at least 1632 (the date of this canvas), but he did not move to Naples until after the Carnival of 1635. Ribera may have traveled to Rome more often than has been thought, although only his presence there in 1626, when he entered the Order of Christ, has been documented.

Although the picture is still generically Caravaggesque, it testifies to Ribera's perfect assimilation of the current Venetian-inspired style—with light-filled surfaces enlivened by silvery reflections—which he handles with new subtlety and command. The importance accorded the landscape and the vivacity of the composition, with the strong diagonal of the sheep in the foreground, mark a further step in Ribera's progression toward the full Baroque. When the painting was cleaned, the date, previously sometimes read as 1634, was clearly visible as 1632, further emphasizing the importance of the work in the master's evolving style.

The painting has been in the Escorial since at least 1681, when Padre Santos recorded its presence in the Galería de los



28



Aposentos Reales and wrote of Charles II, who gave instructions on furnishing the gallery: "During the first trips he made to see that marvelous [place] he ordered it adorned with so much majesty that the Galería is one of the greatest things ever realized."

The canvas and its companion piece, *The Liberation of Saint Peter* (also in the Monastery's collections), are probably the two paintings, valued by Carreño and Cabezalero in 1669 at 300 ducats each, in the possession of the duke of Sanlúcar and of Medina de las Torres in that year. When Marcus Burke brought that inventory to light,¹ he assumed that the canvases were the *Dream of Jacob* (cat. 54) and *The Liberation of Saint Peter* (cat. 55), both in the Prado. The inventory refers merely to a painting "of Jacob," however, without specifying which episode in his life it depicts. As the inventory was taken in 1669, during the reign of Charles II, it is logical to assume that the paintings passed at that time to the royal collections and were installed in the Escorial soon afterward. A large, highly praised *Adoration of the Shepherds*, also listed there beginning with the inventory compiled in 1681 by Padre Santos, must be identical to that appearing in the inventory of Medina de las Torres at 600 ducats, the most highly valued picture in his collection. The Prado paintings were almost certainly bought in Seville by Isabella Farnese. In view of the 1632 date of the *Jacob with His Flocks* and since Medina de las Torres was not viceroy in Naples until 1638, even if he subsequently owned the painting, he could not have commissioned it under his viceregency. Most likely he acquired it—a further indication of his interest in collecting works by Ribera.

Ribera later elaborated on the same subject in a work of broader, more ample, and slightly different composition. It is known by a fragment, signed and dated 1638, in the National Gallery in London² and through a copy in the Museo Cerralbo, Madrid.³ Various replicas and known copies of the Escorial canvas imply that it was highly es-

teemed: one at Knowsley Hall, in the collection of the earl of Derby, is probably a studio work; another example is in the Museo de San Carlos in Mexico City.⁴ There is a replica, but with the composition reversed, in the City Art Gallery, Manchester; another analogous work is in the collection of Lord Jarniaden in London. A copy was sold at Christie's in London in 1972.

AEPS

1. Burke 1989, pp. 132–36.
2. Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 258.
3. Ibid.
4. Jaime G. Cuadrillo, "El Jacob de Ribera: Origen y estilo de un tema," *Museo de San Carlos Boletín* 6 (1981), pp. 111–26.

PROVENANCE

Duke of Sanlúcar and Medina de las Torres (inv. 1669); Escorial (from 1681).

REFERENCES

Santos 1681, p. 82; Ximénez 1764, p. 178; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4; Mayer 1923, p. 80; Ponz 1947, p. 182; Trapier 1952, pp. 84ff, fig. 51; Felton 1971, no. A.42, p. 222; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 77.

29 *An Apostle (Saint Matthew?)*

Oil on canvas, 49 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 37 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (126 × 95 cm)

Signed and dated on rock, lower right:

Jusepe de Ribera español / F, 1632

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth

WITH DIMENSIONS almost identical to those of a *Saint Peter* in the Prado (inv. no. 1072) and the *Saint Paul* in the Hispanic Society of America, New York, this *Apostle*

has been thought to belong to a now-dispersed series of the apostles or saints that might have included a *Saint Roch* in the Prado (inv. no. 1110). However, the dimensions may have been a habitual format employed in Ribera's studio for depictions of saints or philosophers.

This severely powerful figure exudes a sense of impressive energy. Ribera has created not the crude, illiterate peasant Caravaggio used to represent Matthew but the kind of intelligent, cultivated person who distinguishes Ribera's depictions of philosophers. Indeed, were it not for the wooden cross that appears on the stone block to the right and the ample cloak that covers the figure—so different from the tatters that usually clothe Ribera's images of ancient sages—this might well be a philosopher instead of a saint. Even the traditional identification with Saint Matthew lacks any objective iconographic reference, for the cross would also be appropriate to Saint Philip.

The influence of Caravaggio is stronger and more direct than in the Prado *Saint Peter*, especially in the head against the dark background. In contrast, the brushwork is extraordinarily vivid, the face modeled in short, thick-bristled touches that achieve an effect of tactile relief almost vibrating with light. The same effect is seen in Ribera's canvases depicting Saints Peter and Paul.

AEPS

PROVENANCE

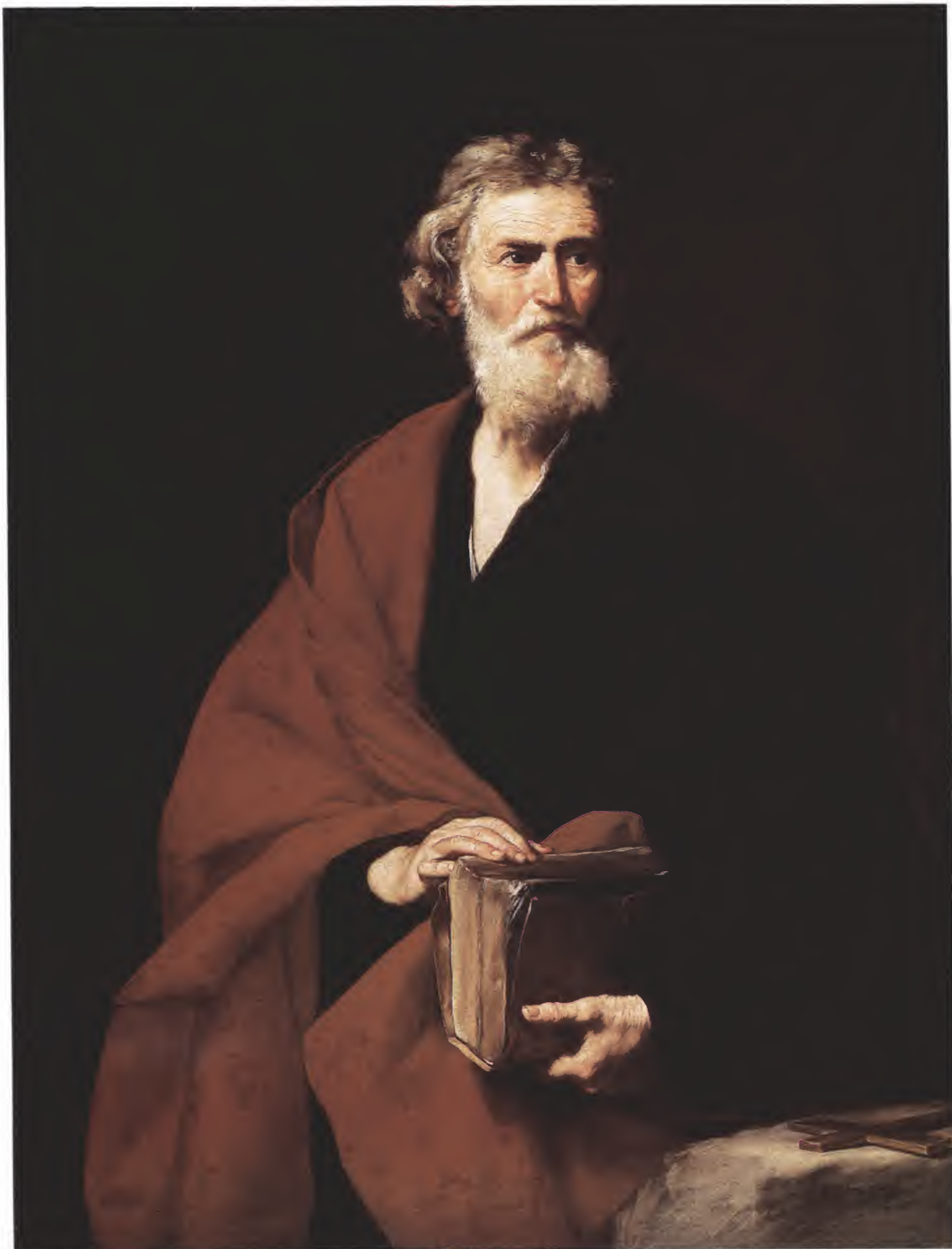
Sano collection, Paris (until 1867; sale, Paris, November 1867); Lord Wimborne, Cranford Manor, Dorset (1867–1923; Wimborne sale, Christie's, London, March 9, 1923, lot 50); Sedelmayer, Paris (1925); Jean Deschamps, Paris; Newhouse Galleries, New York; Kimbell Art Foundation (from 1966).

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1925, no. 83; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 13.

REFERENCES

London 1888, p. 68, no. 163; Mayer 1923, p. 197 (where said to be lost); Felton 1971, no. A.34, p. 206; Fort Worth 1972, pp. 59–61; idem 1981, p. 152; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 13, p. 135.





30 *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*

Oil on canvas, 41 × 44½ in. (104 × 113 cm)

Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F. 1634*

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.;

Gift of the 50th Anniversary Gift

Committee 1990.137.1

ACQUIRED IN ITALY about 1810 by Lord Ashburton for the George Cranstoun (Lord Corehouse) collection in Scotland, this painting was almost completely unknown to critics until it appeared at auction in London in 1983. Felton in 1971 and Spinosa in 1978 identified the work as a workshop copy of a lost original, basing these conclusions on photographs. A subsequent careful restoration revealed its extraordinary qualities and good state.

The canvas is a result of Ribera's successful attempt to reconcile the vigorous naturalism of his earlier work with greater naturalness and a more cordial expression, typical of the period 1632–35. This moment culminates in *The Immaculate Conception* for Salamanca (fig. 17), in which he definitively achieved the luminosity and pictorialism that characterize his mature works. Previously, he treated brutal violence graphically and at times pitilessly, with strong contrasts of light and dark and a dense application of paint. However, the Washington canvas shows the influence upon Ribera of Van Dyck and the recent revival of interest in Venetian painting. Beyond the brutality of the torture, there is suggested a sort of intimate solidarity between victim and torturer, as well as between this pair and the few witnesses in the background: all are involved and brought together by the same inexorable destiny; they are united by everyday miseries and grief. A new human and emotional dimension and a more open and expansive brushwork combine, as in

the 1632 *Jacob* in the Escorial (cat. 28) and, later, in the Prado *Trinity* (cat. 31). This is effected particularly by the way Ribera allows light to flow over the surfaces and employs an almost tactile impasto to exalt the harshest and most secret detail. The expressive intensity and remarkable formal inventiveness of the two background figures, painted almost in monochrome and of a striking modernity, look forward to the late work of Goya.

NS

PROVENANCE

Lord Ashburton (about 1810); Lt. Col. A.J.E. Cranstoun, Corehouse, England, and heirs (1810–1983; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 1983, lot 39); private collection (1983–90; sale, Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1990, lot 83); National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (from 1990).

EXHIBITIONS

Edinburgh 1883, no. 381; Washington 1991.

REFERENCES

Felton 1971, no. x.87, p. 451; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 259.

31 *Trinity*

Oil on canvas, 89 × 46½ in. (226 × 118 cm)

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1069

THE TRINITY of the Prado is one of Ribera's most beautiful works of the 1630s. The body of Christ is rigorously described and dramatically illuminated in the manner of tenebrist painting. At the same time, the silvery tones of white of Christ's body and the cloth held by cherubs, combined with the red mantle of God the Father, with his white beard, and the background of gold-streaked clouds—of an intensity and beauty comparable to those of the Salamanca canvases or the *Assumption of Mary Magdalen*

(cat. 32)—denote a truly pictorial style.

The *Trinity* relates especially to the *Assumption of Mary Magdalen* in the floating mantle, a device that imparts a strong diagonal thrust: in both pictures, the brilliant cloaks—here parallel to the white cloth on which Christ's body rests; there parallel to the luminous host of cherubs floating close to a platform of clouds—serve the same compositional function. The heads and bodies of the cherubs in the *Trinity* are related to those of the *Mary Magdalen* and of the paintings commissioned by the count of Monterrey for Salamanca. Although those similarities point to a date of 1635–36 for this work, Craig Felton prefers to date it some years earlier (about 1632), since he finds in its light and shade affinities with the Budapest *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* of 1628 (cat. 20) and with the *Saint Jerome* of 1629, in the Galleria Doria Pamphili, Rome.

The existence in the Monastery of the Escorial of another version of the composition, evidently dated 1632 and cited by Ximénez in 1764, may support Felton's hypothesis, but that work's extensive repainting, including the area of the signature, prevents a definitive solution. To judge from various details, the Escorial version is also autograph and may be the first version, repeated later by Ribera in a somewhat freer and more pictorial style.

In his iconography, the master seems to have been inspired by a tradition originating with Dürer, which is also observed by El Greco in his depiction of the Trinity executed for Santo Domingo el Antiquo, Toledo, in 1577 (now in the Prado). Ribera was unlikely to have seen El Greco's painting, but, according to Jusepe Martínez,¹ he was acquainted with Luis Tristán, who often interpreted the motif of the Trinity in a fashion similar to El Greco's and who may have been the source of Ribera's knowledge of El Greco's work. (Ribera accompanied Tristán on a trip to Italy early in the century.)

ALPS



1. Martínez 1866, p. 185.

PROVENANCE

Agustín Esteve (until 1820); Museo del Prado (from 1820).

EXHIBITIONS

Geneva 1939, no. 20.

REFERENCES

Catalogues of the Museo del Prado 1854–58, no. 204; idem 1872–1907, no. 990; idem 1910–85, no. 1069; Ayerbe 1920, p. 86; Tormo y Monzó 1922/23, fig. 29; Mayer 1923, pp. 113–14; Trapier 1952, pp. 117, 123, fig. 74; Sarthou Carreres 1953, pp. 14–61; Felton 1971, no. A 37, p. 212; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 98.

32 *Assumption of Mary Magdalen*

Oil on canvas, 100 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 76 in. (256 × 193 cm)
Signed and dated lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera / español F 1636*
Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid

ALTHOUGH THE PROPOSAL has not been previously made, this canvas undoubtedly belonged to the Escorial, where it is cited in an inventory of 1700: “The Magdalen, in a gold frame three varas high and two and a quarter wide, by Jusepe de Ribera, valued at one thousand ducats.” It is also mentioned by both Ximénez and Ponz. The latter describes it as “a Magdalen from life in the garb of a penitent, against clouds by Spagnoletto”; Ceán Bermúdez refers to it as “a penitent saint on a throne of angels.” The dimensions given in the inventory (245 × 186 cm) are virtually the same as those of the present painting; further, the Academia is known to have protected the Escorial canvases during the Napoleonic wars.





32: Detail

What apparently confirms the hypothesis is that Ribera's *Saint Anthony with the Infant Christ*, also in the Academia, is listed in the Escorial inventory along with the *Magdalen*, but was recorded separately from another version still in the monastery.

In style and quality, the painting is close to the canvases done for the count of

Monterrey; Spinosa has even suggested that the viceroy could have commissioned it. The figure of the saint, enveloped in a floating mantle and with her hands crossed over her breast, and the beautiful group of cherubs relate to similar elements in the *Immaculate Conception* at Las Agustinas Recoletas, Salamanca (fig. 17). The general

composition, on a pronounced diagonal defined by the cherubs who bear the saint's attributes—a skull, scourges, and a jar of ointment—closely resembles that of the Salamanca *San Gennaro*, as does the lovely seascape bathed in a golden light of extraordinary beauty in the lower right, possibly an allusion to the Gulf of Lions, on

which Marseilles is located. If so, Ribera may well have been invoking the medieval legend according to which Mary Magdalen was carried aloft every day by angels to participate in the divine offices celebrated by the saints. The story is told in *The Golden Legend*. However, Ribera took as his point of inspiration the Bay of Naples, which is freely interpreted in a fashion that recalls his landscapes in the collection of the duke of Alba (see pp. 164–65).

Both for the quality of impassioned transport and the dynamic composition, the picture is the most Baroque that Ribera ever painted. Here, pious convention gives way to an acute sensitivity to color and light, the dense impasto seemingly pervaded by the brilliance of the sun.

As Émile Mâle has explained, the mores of the Counter-Reformation permitted the depiction of feminine beauty in all its glory (as Ribera has done here) by making Mary Magdalen one of the most meaningful symbols of the sacrament of penance. He considered this image of the saint to be “the most beautiful of the works in this genre.”

A copy by Luca Giordano, now in the Hispanic Society of America in New York, was long thought to be by Ribera himself,¹ despite Mayer’s correct attribution in 1923, an opinion now unanimously accepted.² Another copy, once in the Martins collection in Bonn, was apparently destroyed during the Second World War. The presence of the canvas in the Escorial accounts for the influence it had on Claudio Coello, who referred to it in his great painting of 1680 for the high altar of the Parish Church of Ciempozuelos, Madrid. Coello’s work is no more than a fully Baroque reinterpretation of Ribera’s composition, but with the sky developed to a greater degree.³ Replicas or copies of Coello’s composition are in the Museo de Pinturas, Cádiz, and in the Prado, the latter work on loan to the Museo de Bellas Artes of Asturias since 1989.

1. Trapier 1952, pp. 116–17; Fitz Darby 1942, pp. 223–30.
2. Ferrari and Scavizzi 1966, vol. 2, p. 70.
3. Sullivan 1986, no. p. 69, p. 151.

PROVENANCE

Monastery of the Escorial (until after 1800; inv. 1700); Academia de San Fernando (from 1818).

EXHIBITIONS

Brussels 1985, no. C 64.

REFERENCES

Ximénez 1764, p. 177; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 191; catalogues of the Real Academia de San Fernando 1818, no. 19, p. 4; idem 1819, no. 20, p. 6; idem 1821, no. 14, p. 5; idem 1824, no. 14, p. 15; idem 1829, no. 15, p. 7; Justi 1892, pp. 2–10; Mayer 1923, pp. 61–62, 187–91; Tormo y Monzó 1929, p. 31; Mâle 1932, p. 190; Fitz Darby 1942, pp. 223–30; Ponz 1947, p. 213; Trapier 1952, pp. 116–17; Pérez Sánchez 1964, no. 636; Labrada 1965, no. 636, p. 71; Felton 1971, no. A.45, p. 228; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 96; Díaz Padrón 1985, p. 560.

33 *Saint Augustine*

Oil on canvas, originally $83\frac{7}{8} \times 41\frac{1}{4}$ in. (213×106 cm), enlarged to $91\frac{1}{8} \times 66\frac{1}{8}$ in. (232×168 cm)

Signed and dated at left, on wall: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F 1636*

Church of the Convent of Las Agustinas Recoletas de Monterrey, Salamanca

ALTHOUGH this noble depiction of Saint Augustine must have been commissioned for the Convent of Las Agustinas Recoletas in Salamanca by the count of Monterrey at the same time as the other canvases Ribera painted for that institution (fig. 17), the work was unknown prior to 1967, when it was restored at the Prado. At that time, it was found to have been considerably enlarged to fit the available space in the collateral altar where it was

situated; the bishop’s miter had been crudely painted over, and a modest background with the dome of the Augustinian church (frequently an attribute of the bishop of Hippo) had been added. The overpaint was removed in 1967, and the canvas was reinstalled in a fashion that makes its original dimensions evident.

The figure’s air of solemn self-assurance, the turn of his head, his intense gaze, heavy dark beard, thickly painted hands, and the magnificently depicted book he holds, as well as his grave silhouette powerfully outlined against a luminous, cloud-streaked sky, align this picture of Saint Augustine, founder of the order that governs the convent in which it is housed, with some of Ribera’s best works of the second half of the 1630s.¹ Despite its imperfect condition, which prevents a full appreciation of Ribera working at the height of his powers, the painting appears to be very close to the *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul* of 1637, now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Álava, Vitoria, and the *Moses* and *Elijah* (cats. 49, 50) in the Certosa di San Martino. Its date, whose uncertain final digit has been taken for a 7, is almost certainly 1636. The model appears in other representations of the saint—in the Prado and in the Musée Goya, Castres, for instance—made either by the master or by his workshop.

Felton, who relates this *Saint Augustine* to the above-mentioned *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, thinks it may even have been painted as a companion piece to them, even though he believes that Ribera painted the two apostles for the duke of Medina de las Torres. His hypothesis seems unfounded: because the subject was the founder of the Augustinian Order, it is logical to assume that the work was painted for the church at Salamanca. Nevertheless, the stylistic relationship that Felton points out is unquestionable. Further, as the two Vitoria apostles are apparently identifiable with entries in the Monterrey inventory of 1655, the connection among the three works, painted one



after the other between 1636 and 1637 for the same client, is strengthened.

Oddly, Ponz cited the *Saint Augustine* as a work by the “Cavalier Massimo” (Massimo Stanzione) in his description of the church, and that undoubtedly explains why it was not included later by Ceán Bermúdez, who followed Ponz. The work continued to be attributed to Stanzione in local guidebooks, including one by Camón Aznar in 1932. Gómez Moreno classified it as a “beautiful painting” by Stanzione in his text of 1906, but when that book was reissued in 1967, the attribution was corrected to Ribera.

AEPS

1. Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 95.

PROVENANCE

Probably commissioned by the count of Monterrey for the church of the Convent of Las Agustinas Recoletas de Monterrey.

REFERENCES

Ponz 1947, p. 1095; Gómez Moreno 1967, pp. 297–99; Felton 1971, no. A.62, p. 256; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 95; Madruga Real 1983, p. 158.

34 *Duel Between Women*

Oil on canvas, 91 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (232 × 212 cm)

Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera Valenciano / F. 1636*

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1124

THIS IS ONE of Ribera’s most unusual and surprising compositions. The subject matter, while not completely clear, supposedly derives from an event that must have been a topic of frequent discussion among the Neapolitan nobility. In 1552, in the presence of the viceroy, the marquess del Vasto, two Neapolitan women named Isabella di Carazi and Diambra di Petinella fought a



duel for the love of a young man, Fabio di Zeresola. The unique episode fits easily into the world of late chivalry, which also gave rise to great Mannerist poetry. A canvas in the Prado (no. 472), thought to be Italian and wrought in a style very close to that of the Neapolitan Andrea Vaccaro, represents the same subject and perhaps refers to the same literary source. Recently, the work has been interpreted as a representation of the eternal combat between Vice and Virtue, as recounted in classical literature.

Ribera presents the tale as a heroic episode, placing in the foreground the life-size figures of the dueling women and stressing their mass and volume, while treating the spectators behind them in a pictorial, almost Venetian manner. His approach has been compared with late Roman reliefs, in which the figures in the foreground are almost three-dimensional, while those in the background are carved in extremely low relief. Ribera echoed this compositional idea in other works in the same years, including the superb *Martyrdom of Saint Philip* (cat. 56).

The painting is one of the masterpieces from the most important years in the evolution of Ribera's style. His use of warm colors, especially the golden tones in the clothing of the standing woman, reflects his study of Venetian art. He has also reaffirmed his taste for the monumental, as well as his ever-present attachment to an innate classicism, visible here in the serene beauty of the women and in their chiseled profiles. It has been noted that Ribera, in dealing with such an unusual subject, must have had in mind classical reliefs depicting the battles of the Amazons.

The *Duel Between Women* appears in the seventeenth-century inventories of the Alcázar palace in Madrid, beginning in the year 1666. The work was saved from the fire of 1734 but suffered a good deal of damage. It appeared in 1772 inventories of the new palace, where Ponz, who considered it to be a work "in the style of Ribera," must have seen it. It then passed to the

Prado the year the museum was founded. Old restorations had greatly altered the painting's appearance, but a thorough restoration undertaken recently has recovered much of its original color. Nonetheless, sad to say, it still must be considered seriously damaged.

AEPS

PROVENANCE

Alcázar, Madrid (inv. 1666); Palacio Real (by 1772–1820); Museo del Prado (from 1820).

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1987–88, no. 22; Valencia 1991, p. 17.

REFERENCES

Catalogues of the Museo del Prado 1854–58, no. 545; idem 1872–1907, no. 988; idem 1910–85, no. 1124; Tormo y Monzó 1922/23, fig. 30; Mayer 1923, pp. 199–200; Ponz 1947, p. 528; Trapier 1952, pp. 127–30, figs. 78–80; Sarthou Carreres 1953, pp. 14–63; Felton 1971, no. A 48, p. 233; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 100.

35 *Diogenes*

Oil on canvas, 47¼ × 37⅞ in. (120 × 95 cm)

Signed and dated: *Josephf a Ribera Yspan. /*

Valentinus civitatis / Settabis accademicus Romanus.

F. / 1636.

Inscribed on table: *diogine*

Private collection

PROVENANCE

Princes of Liechtenstein (1637–1957); Newhouse Galleries, Inc., New York (1957); private collection.

REFERENCES

Fanti 1767, p. 105; Vienna 1780, pp. 160–69; Viardot 1844, p. 257; Mayer 1923, p. 201; Kronfeld 1927 and 1931; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2323; Turner 1958, pp. 5–14; Fitz Darby 1962, pp. 279–307; Felton 1971, no. X.516, p. 617; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 455; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 153; Nappi 1983, pp. 73–87; Delfino 1985, p. 104; Felton 1986, pp. 785–89; Ferrari 1986, p. 159.





36 *Anaxagoras*

Oil on canvas, $47\frac{1}{4} \times 37\frac{1}{8}$ in. (120 × 95 cm)

Signed and dated: *Joseph de Ribera Yspanus valentinus* / F. 1636

Inscribed on the cloth: *Anassagora*

Private collection

PROVENANCE

Princes of Liechtenstein (1637–1957); Newhouse Galleries, Inc., New York (1957); private collection,

REFERENCES

Fanti 1767, p. 105; Mayer 1923, pp. 99–100, 201; Kronfeld 1927, no. A.377, p. 82; Turner 1958, pp. 5–14; Fitz Darby 1962, pp. 279–307; Pérez Sánchez and Spinoso 1978, no. 452; Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 152–59; Nappi 1983, pp. 73–87; Delfino 1985, p. 104; Felton 1986, pp. 785–89; Ferrari 1986, p. 148.

37 *Plato*

Oil on canvas, $48\frac{7}{8} \times 39$ in. (124 × 99 cm)

Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera, español* / F. 1637

Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Avery Collection

PROVENANCE

Princes of Liechtenstein (1637–1957); Newhouse Galleries, Inc., New York (1957); private collection, New York (1957–73); Newhouse Galleries, New York (1973); Mr. and Mrs. R. Stanton Avery.

REFERENCES

Fanti 1767, p. 105; Mayer 1923, pp. 99–100, 201; Kronfeld 1927, no. A.372, p. 80; idem 1929, p. 63; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2327; Turner 1958, pp. 5–14; Fitz Darby 1962, pp. 279–307; Felton 1971, no. x.517, p. 617; Pérez Sánchez and Spinoso 1978, no. 412; Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 152–59, no. 19; Felton 1986, pp. 785–89; Ferrari 1986, p. 164.

38 *Protagoras*

Oil on canvas, $48\frac{7}{8} \times 38\frac{1}{16}$ in. (124.1 × 98.3 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera español* / F. 1637

Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford; The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection 1957.444



37

PROVENANCE

Princes of Liechtenstein (1637–1957); Newhouse Galleries, Inc., New York (1957); Wadsworth Atheneum (from 1957).

EXHIBITIONS

Sarasota 1961, no. 10 (as *A Greek Philosopher*); Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 17.

REFERENCES

Fanti 1767, p. 105; Vienna 1780, pp. 160, 169; Viardot 1844, p. 257; Mayer 1923, p. 201; Kronfeld 1927 and 1931, no. A 376; Pantorba 1946, p. 25; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2328; Turner 1958, pp. 5–14, fig. 1; Fitz Darby 1962, pp. 279–307, no. 73; Pérez Sánchez and Spinoso 1978, p. 139, no. 401; Ferrari 1986, p. 164; Cadogan 1991, pp. 314–19.

39 *Crates*

Oil on canvas, $48\frac{7}{8} \times 38\frac{3}{4}$ in. (124 × 98.5 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Joseph de Ribera español* / F. 1636

Inscribed at bottom right: *crate tebano*

The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo

PROVENANCE

Princes of Liechtenstein (1637–1957); Newhouse Galleries, Inc. (1957); private collection; Galerie Nathan, Zurich (until 1989); National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo (from 1989).



38

EXHIBITIONS

Lucerne 1948, no. N.A.I.

REFERENCES

Fanti 1767, no. 533, p. 105; Vienna 1780, no. 573, p. 169; Falke 1873, no. 374, p. 45 (as unknown philosopher); Mayer 1908, p. 188 (as philosopher); Kronfeld 1931, no. A.374, p. 84 (as unknown philosopher); Turner 1958, p. 5; Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 152–53; Felton 1986, pp. 785–89; The National Museum of Western Art, *Catalogue of Painting Acquisitions*, 1979–1989, Tokyo, 1990, p. 55.

40 Aristotle

Oil on canvas, 48 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 39 in. (124 × 99 cm)
Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F. 1637*

Indianapolis Museum of Art; The Clowes Fund Collection

PROVENANCE

Princes of Liechtenstein (1637–1957); Newhouse Galleries, Inc., New York (1957); Dr. G. H. A. Clowes, Indianapolis; Indianapolis Museum of Art (from 1957).

EXHIBITIONS

Oberlin 1957, no. 4; Indianapolis 1959, no. 49; South Bend 1962, no. 42; Bloomington 1962, no. 31; Indianapolis and Providence 1963, no. 70; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 18.

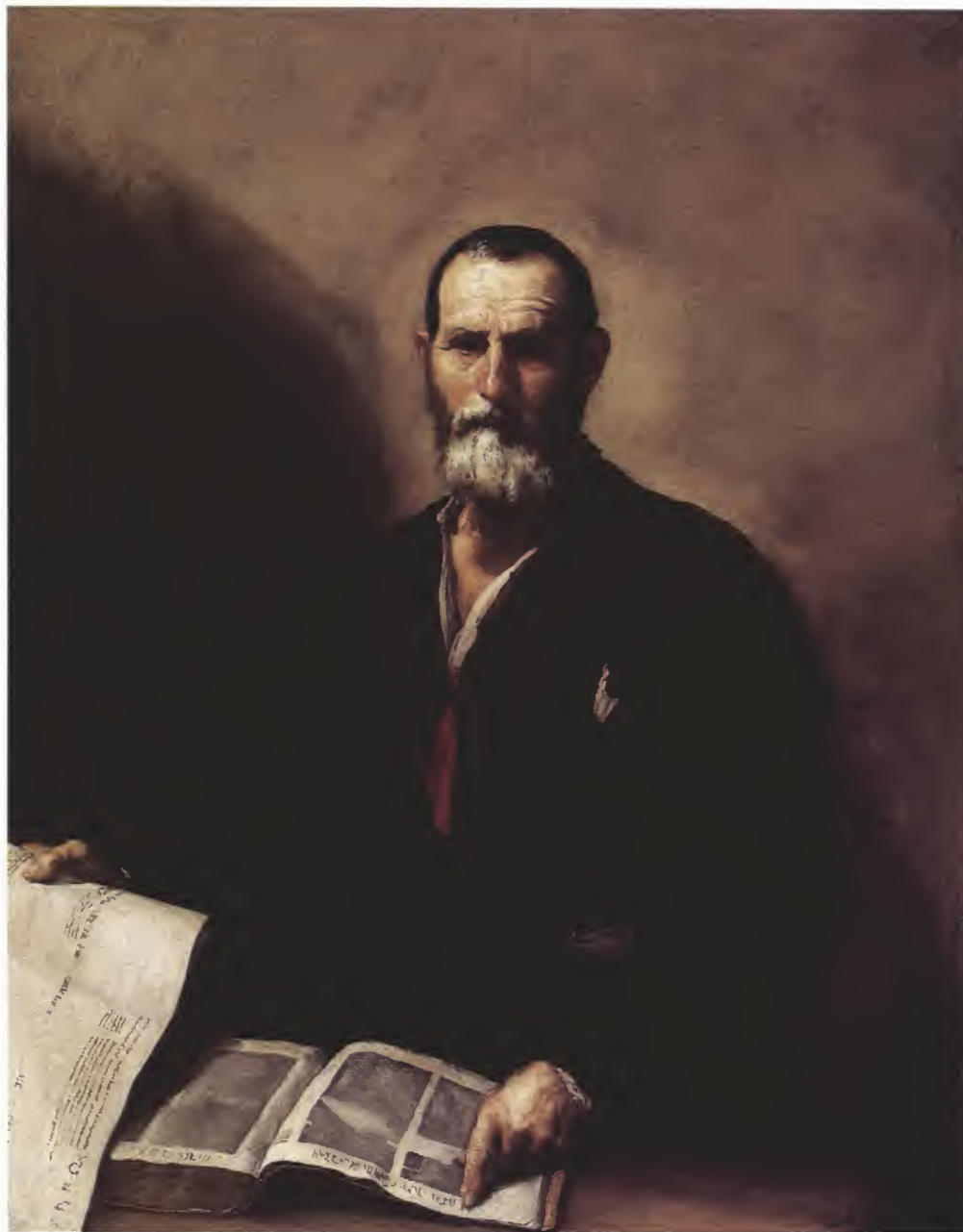
REFERENCES

Fanti 1767, p. 105; Vienna 1780, pp. 160–69; Viardot 1844, p. 257; Mayer 1923, pp. 99–100, 201; Kronfeld 1927 and 1931, no. A.57; Pantorba 1946, p. 25; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2324; Turner 1958, pp. 5–14, fig. 2; Fitz Darby 1962, pp. 298 ff., fig. 9; Indianapolis 1973, p. 60; Pérez Sánchez and Spinoso 1978, no. 403, p. 139; Indianapolis 1980, pp. 71–74; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 18, p. 157; Nappi 1983, pp. 73–87; Delfino 1985, p. 104; Felton 1986, pp. 785–89; Ferrari 1986, p. 150.

THESE SIX paintings are from a series of ancient philosophers commissioned from Ribera in May 1636 by the Neapolitan agents of Prince Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein (1611–1684), as demonstrated by the documents published by Nappi and Delfino.

The original commission was for twelve paintings, “each of which must contain the figure of a philosopher painted by the hand of [Ribera].” By April 20, 1637, six had been delivered; a study of the inventories of the Liechtenstein collection reveals that the six remaining paintings were never sent and possibly were never painted. In the inventory of 1767, the six philosophers are listed as *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Crates*, *Anaxagoras*, *Diogenes*, and *Protagoras*, while in the most recent ones, only *Diogenes* and *Anaxagoras* are identified, with the philosopher previously called Aristotle referred to as Archimedes; the others are described simply as “philosophers.” The paintings in the series are reunited here for the first time since their dispersal in 1957.

Prior to the publication of the documents, the attribution of the series to Ribera was doubted, despite the presence of his signature. This may have been due in part to the varying condition of the pictures and the fact that some were known only from photographs. At one time, Felton and Spinoso considered them the work of an



39

imitator or a pupil, and Spinoza even suggested that they might be by a Neapolitan painter from the circle of Fracanzano.¹ A more thorough study of the works themselves, together with the documents, leaves no doubt that they are autograph, as both Felton and Spinoza now agree. Indeed, the Liechtenstein series, when taken as a whole, reveals an extraordinary mastery and shows to the full Ribera's more pictorial and nervous handling, the harsh realism of the figures being interpreted with a new nobil-

ity and gravity. In these pictures, the radical tenebrism of Ribera's early years has given way to a more diffuse treatment of light, resulting in a golden atmosphere that sets off the free, energetic rendering of the face, beard, and hair of the ancient philosophers. The still-life details and the texture and colors of the costumes—especially those of the *Anaxagoras*—are of remarkable quality.

Three of the pictures, the *Diogenes*, the *Anaxagoras*, and the *Crates*, are identified

by inscriptions. Diogenes is shown with his attribute, the lantern, with which in broad daylight he sought an honest man, as told by Diogenese Laertius in the *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers of Antiquity* (6.41). Laertius was clearly one of the sources consulted by Ribera. Of Anaxagoras, Laertius recounts that he "was the first who set mind above matter" and "the first to publish a book with diagrams" (2.6.11). The latter point is clearly alluded to by Ribera. The Cynic philosopher Crates of Thebes was famed for being grotesquely ugly and seeking ignominy and poverty. Clearly this does not apply to Ribera's noble figure, and one wonders if he has conflated the Theban philosopher with the grammarian Crates of Mallus, who wrote a commentary on the Homeric poems and a treatise on the Attic dialect. Interestingly, these are the first pictures in the series to have been painted, being dated 1636 (the remaining pictures are dated 1637); they are also the only ones signed with the Latin form of Ribera's name. These differences suggest that, under pressure of work, Ribera may have abandoned a more tightly conceived scheme and resorted to more generic depictions, employing figures and attitudes that have as much in common with his apostles as with ancient philosophers. In any event, the identification of the remaining three philosophers is more problematic.

Laertius's remark that Plato had eyes and a mouth that had never been touched by laughter and was "frowning, with his eyebrows lifted high like a snail," is the basis for the tentative identification of the Los Angeles canvas. The picture at Indianapolis was called Archimedes in the more recent Liechtenstein catalogues, but Fitz Darby has argued that the skullcap of a scholar and the doctor's robe favor an identification as Aristotle. In fact, Archimedes is not mentioned among the philosophers in the 1767 inventory. This is one of the most noble and beautifully painted figures in the series. The rigorous outline, the ges-





ture, and the treatment of the still-life details make it among the most powerful evocations of deep thought in Ribera's oeuvre. Through a process of elimination, the last figure would show Protagoras, who is above all famous for his dictum, "Man is the measure of all things; of those which are, that they are; of those which are not, that they are not."

According to Spinosa, a copy of the *Diogenes*, of reduced size (20 × 17 in. [51 × 43 cm]) and attributed to Luca Giordano, was discovered in 1960 in the Drey collection in London.

AEPS/KC

1. Felton 1971, p. 617; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 455.

41 *Apollo and Marsyas*

Oil on canvas, 71⅞ × 91⅞ in. (182 × 232 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera, español Valenciano / F. 1637*

Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples; inv. Quintavalle no. 511

THE SUBJECT of Apollo flaying Marsyas is one that Ribera repeated often. In addition to this painting, which was part of the d'Avalos del Vasto collection, and the autograph version in the *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, Brussels, others currently unlocated are referred to in documented sources. In 1630, Capaccio praised a version in Gaspar Roomer's collection; a payment in the mid-1640s mentions the completion of a canvas on the same subject executed for the marquess Serra.¹ In the mid-1630s, during the viceregency of Monterrey, other paintings of mythological subjects were commissioned from Ribera for the *Palacio del Buen Retiro*.

In this work, Ribera's treatment of the theme focuses on the most dramatic moment of the ancient story, when Marsyas, having dared to challenge Apollo to a contest of musical skill, loses and is punished for his audacity and pride. This pagan tale is, in certain respects, the counterpart to the martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew. Ribera has abandoned the moralism and gloomy mysticism characteristic of his work of the preceding decade, which, with its flayings and crucifixions of Christian martyrs, led to the lines "Spagnoletto tainted / His brush with all the blood of all the sainted." The painting nevertheless derives from Ribera's earlier essays in naturalism, here seen in the violent realism of Marsyas's cry of pain; his pose is related to that of the apostle in Caravaggio's *Conversion of Saint Paul* in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Further, because of the typology of the tortured character personified by Marsyas and also present in the series of the Damned, now in the Prado, which Ribera painted some years earlier (see cat. 26), a connection among them all has been suggested. The bitter realism of this depiction of Marsyas, however, is achieved not by the alternating of light and shade but by the treatment of the picture as a whole.

The composition possesses a newly dynamic quality conveyed in intersecting diagonal elements and in the circularity of the relationship of the two figures (emphasized by Apollo's billowing cloak). The refined chromatic sensibility is accented by the light that envelops both figures and landscape in an opulent and brilliant effect. The unfolding drama is given emotional and psychological depth by the presence of the sketchily delineated satyrs at the right, who observe the action with astonishment and horror. The work, which attests to the artist's participation in various stylistic currents of the mid-1630s (such as the growing interest in Van Dyck, whose influence was just beginning to be felt), marks a pivotal point in the development of Ribera's art.

The treatment of the theme was taken from an engraving by the anonymous "Maestro M. F. 1536," in which the satyr, mouth agape and arms outstretched, is depicted on the ground, already flayed, as Apollo shows the skin to warrior spectators.² A drawing of a satyr's head, recently on the market,³ bears some resemblance to that work. A version of the painting, attributed to a follower of Ribera, is in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Florida;⁴ a later copy, by Luca Giordano (previously attributed to Bartolomeo Bassante), is in the collections of the Museo Nazionale di San Martino. A preparatory drawing, once owned by the Corsini family, is now in the Gabinetto Nazionale dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Rome.

The painting was restored in 1983 by Ciro Marcone and Luigi Coletta, of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Naples.

DMP

1. Nappi 1990, pp. 178, 184; Antonio Vannugli, *La collezione Serra di Cassano* (Salerno, 1989).
2. Sebastian 1974, p. 124.
3. Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1985, lot 75.
4. See William Suida, *Catalogue of Paintings of the J. and M. Ringling Museum* (Sarasota, 1949), p. 237.

PROVENANCE

D'Avalos del Vasto collection, Naples; Museo di Capodimonte (until 1948); Museo di San Martino (from 1948).

EXHIBITIONS

Rome 1956–57, no. 246, p. 206; Naples 1963, no. 54, p. 56; Bucharest 1972; Naples 1972; London and Washington 1982–83, no. 123, pp. 229–30, and Naples 1982, no. 122, pp. 248–49; Turin 1983, p. 99, fig. 83; Paris 1983, no. 67, pp. 262–63; Naples 1984, vol. 1, no. 2.203, pp. 414–15; Madrid 1985, no. 111, pp. 270–71; São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro 1989, no. 10, p. 73; Barcelona 1990, pp. 48–49; Valencia 1990, pp. 48–49.

REFERENCES

Capaccio 1630, p. 863; Mayer 1908, pp. 100, 184, 187; idem 1923, pp. 100–102, 197; Bologna 1952, pp. 47–56; Trapier 1952, pp. 133–35; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2316; Cuoco 1966; Felton 1971, no. A.49, pp. 235–36; Camesasca 1973, no. 12; Sebastian 1974, p. 124; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 103, p. 109.



42 *The Immaculate Conception*

Oil on canvas, 98 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 64 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (249 × 164 cm)

Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F. 1637*

Graf Harrach'sche Familiensammlung, Rohrau; inv. no. W. F. 350

GIVEN in 1676 to Count Ferdinand Bonaventure von Harrach, the imperial ambassador in Madrid, this painting takes up—with certain variations and on a smaller scale—a theme treated by Ribera earlier, in 1635, for the church of Las Agustinas Recoletas in Salamanca (fig. 17). Some critics (for example, Mayer and Felton) have considered this to be a work of Ribera's studio, but a recent restoration has revealed, along with signs of irreversible damage, passages of the highest quality of brilliant luminosity and wonderfully sumptuous color, and the work is now generally accepted as authentic. It seems to belong to that phase of Ribera's development, about 1630, when his earlier naturalism was partially giving way to the influence of Van Dyck's Italian paintings and Venetian art.

The Harrach *Immaculate Conception* has often been compared with a canvas depicting the same subject, also dated 1637, now in the Kress Collection at the Columbia Museum of Art in South Carolina (100 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 69 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [255 × 177 cm]), which shows the Virgin with her hands joined together but turned toward the left and surrounded by fewer angels and attributes of Mary.¹ It has also been compared with another version, formerly in the collection of the marquess of Alcantara, which was acquired for the Prado by Ferdinand VII in 1833 (inv. no. 1070). While similar in many respects, that version depicts the Virgin with hands joined at her breast, as in the Salamanca painting. We know of yet another two versions of the same composition, which Ribera later

Painted. One, dating from 1646, was in Madrid, in the Convent of Santa Isabel (destroyed during the Spanish Civil War); its format echoed that of the Salamanca painting, although it lacked the God the Father. Another, very damaged version was in the Convent of San Pascual in Madrid and is now in a storeroom of the Prado.²

The version formerly in Santa Isabel was identified by Prota-Giurleo (1953) as the canvas painted for the high altar of the chapel of the old Palazzo Reale in Naples. It was moved in 1668 to the adjacent new royal residence and then brought to Spain in 1672 by Viceroy Don Pedro Antonio de Aragón. After it was removed from the chapel, the place left empty on the altar was filled by Cosimo Fanzago's marble *Immaculate Conception*, now in the courtyard of the Seminario Arcivescovile.³ It is worth pointing out that this monumental sculpture by Fanzago has convincing stylistic and

compositional similarities with Ribera's *Immaculate Conception* illustrated here. Indeed, Ribera's canvas seems to have been the inspiration for Fanzago, further confirming the close ties that existed between the two protagonists of the arts in Naples during the transition from naturalism to the Baroque.

NS

1. Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 22, pp. 167–75.
2. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 202, p. 124.
3. Mormone 1970, pp. 181–82, fig. 64.

PROVENANCE

Graf Harrach'sche collection (from 1676).

EXHIBITIONS

Munich and Vienna 1982, no. 74, p. 246; Frankfurt 1988, no. D.49, p. 665.

REFERENCES

Mayer 1908, p. 89; idem 1923, p. 89; Ritschl 1926, p. 99; Aurenhammer 1954, p. 76; Heinz 1960, p. 62; Felton 1971, no. S.71, p. 388; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 106, p. 110; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 13, p. 174.





43 *Diogenes*

Oil on canvas, 29 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 24 in. (76 × 61 cm)

Signed and dated at middle center right:

Jusepe de Ribera / español F. 1637

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie
Alte Meister, Dresden; inv. no. 682

THIS PAINTING depicts the philosopher Diogenes of Sinope, who lived as an itinerant teacher until his death in 323 B.C. He was an exponent of the philosophical school of Cynicism, which held that the virtuous life was the only life and whose adherents abandoned the diversions of civilization. Diogenes, who condemned the corruption of his contemporaries, is said to have gone about the streets by day holding a lantern and responding to public ridicule by explaining that he was searching for an honest man.

Diogenes appears here as a young man, grim-faced and determined, holding his attribute of a lantern. As in the Apostle series, in which Ribera successfully expressed the differing personalities attributed to the saints, so he did in this image and others of ancient philosophers. Nothing, including the clothing they wear, is accidental; all the pictorial elements combine to portray character and personality and to capture the individuality of the subjects.

Oreste Ferrari relates the enormous diffusion of portrayals of ancient philosophers to the need to furnish libraries of the period with what might be called an illustrated index. While that may not have been the motivating principle behind a commission of a specific philosopher, the patrons of these works demonstrated an interest in the neo-Stoic currents of the time by looking with favor on motifs characteristic of Stoic behavior: a ragged philosopher, the sacrifice of oneself for true ideals, the choice of such traditional figures as Diogenes and Carneades (214?–129? B.C.), and even Aris-

totle and Plato, who, if not actual Stoics, were champions of the movement. While the fashion for the ancient movement spread throughout Western Europe, in Naples the patrons for the subjects were not linked to the new intellectual forces connected to the Accademia degli Investiganti.¹

Diogenes is the subject of another work from the same period, in which the philosopher is depicted as an old man (cat. 35).

Fitz Darby mentions a copy of the Dresden painting in the Van Horne collection, Montreal.² Another version, formerly in the Feroni collection, is now in the Uffizi. Spinosa mentions two additional canvases, one in the collection of Alvin Gregory, Los Angeles, and one in the collection of Lord Harlech, Brogryntyn. The latter was sold at Sotheby's on February 1, 1956.³

DMP

1. Ferrari 1986.

2. Fitz Darby 1962.

3. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 110, p. 110.

PROVENANCE

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden (inv. 1722–28, A.250 J).

EXHIBITIONS

Florence 1982, no. III.16.

REFERENCES

Mayer 1923, p. 99; Posse 1929, pp. 337–38; Trapier 1952, pp. 136–39; Dresden 1968, p. 87; Pigler 1974, p. 374; Felton 1971, no. S.31, pp. 357–58; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 110, p. 110; Ferrari 1986, p. 159.

44 *The Blessing of Jacob*

Oil on canvas, 50 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 113 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (129 × 289 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de*

Ribera español / F. Ano 1637

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1118

THE STORY depicted is recounted in chapter 27 of Genesis. Jacob, with the complicity of his mother, Rebecca, covers his arms with sheepskin, feigning the hairy roughness of his brother, Esau, to deceive his father, Isaac, into blessing him. Esau appears in the background, bringing the game that his father had requested and that Jacob had supplied in his stead.

This is one of the finest works of the artist's maturity. In it, with extraordinary intelligence, he employs his mastery of expression. There are reminders of the intense naturalism of his early years as well as a Caravaggesque use of light on the principal figures. However, Ribera's command of his medium has become enriched by an entirely new atmospheric, spatial, and chromatic sensibility that undoubtedly grew out of his study of Venetian art and by his thorough knowledge of Flemish painting, especially of Van Dyck.

The suggested influence of Velázquez¹ would be difficult to account for in view of the strongly realistic vision evident in the canvas. Suffice it to say that at this time Velázquez had already painted *The Surrender of Breda*, which reveals a completely different approach to the depiction of reality.

As always, Ribera manifests his deep love for palpable truth. That profound naturalism, fused with Venetian and Flemish influences, accounts for the coloristic brilliance of the superb red fabrics, the sheepskin, and especially the still life on the right, which reveals the painter's mastery in what he probably considered a lesser genre (although such examples as this, inserted in his major works, would exercise a visible





influence on specialists of still-life painting).

The viewpoint and the elongated format adopted here suggest that the work was intended to be looked at from below — perhaps as an overdoor. Its placement in the Alcázar palace in Madrid, where it is listed among the canvases saved from the fire of 1734, is unknown. Trapier postulates that the work was painted for the Hall of Mirrors, where there was a series of similar subjects of horizontal format, as well as a series by Velázquez on mythological themes, of which only the *Mercury and Argos*, painted for an overdoor, survives. Trapier's theory does not seem justified, however, for there is no documentation that the canvas was in the palace prior to 1734. In storage after the fire, it probably remained there until being moved to the new Palacio Real, where it is cited by Ponz (although, inexplicably, Ceán Bermúdez omits any mention of it). Following the Napoleonic Wars, the work passed to the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando before coming to the Prado.

A mediocre copy of the painting belonged to the Czernin collection, Vienna, before the Second World War. A free derivation employing another format, by Luca Giordano, is in the Harrach collection, Vienna.²

AEPS



1. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 111.

2. Ferrari and Scavizzi 1966, vol. 2, p. 16; vol. 3, fig. 16.

PROVENANCE

Royal Collections of Spain; Alcázar, Madrid (by 1734); Palacio Real; Real Academia de San Fernando (between 1816 and 1818); Museo del Prado.

REFERENCES

Conca 1793–97, vol. 1, p. 137; catalogues of the Real Academia de San Fernando 1818 and 1819, no. 6, p. 3; idem, 1821, no. 6, p. 4; idem 1824, no. 6, p. 13; catalogues of the Museo del Prado 1854–58, no. 485; idem 1872–1907, no. 983; idem 1910–85, no. 1118; Tormo y Monzó 1922/23, fig. 31; Mayer 1923, pp. 96–98; Ponz 1947, p. 531; Trapier 1952, pp. 143–45; Sarthou Carreres 1953, pp. 55–56; Felton 1971, no. A.51, p. 239; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 111; Felton 1981; Brown 1984.

45 *The Drinker*

Oil on canvas, 23¼ × 18⅞ in. (59 × 46 cm)
Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera / F. 1637*
Private collection

ORIGINALLY in the royal collections of Spain, this painting was exhibited in 1854 with the entire collection of the in-

fante Don Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Braganza. At the beginning of this century, it became part of the collection of the Museo de la Trinidad in Madrid. In 1958 it was acquired by Mr. and Mrs. Meadows of Dallas. Because of its dimensions, date, and stylistic affinities, as well as the clear allusion to the sense of taste, critics have linked the painting to the two canvases that follow, one of which is in a private collection



46 *Girl with Tambourine*

Oil on canvas, 23¼ × 17¼ in. (59 × 45 cm)

Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera / español F.*
1637

Private collection, London

SOMETIME after 1930 this painting passed from a private collection in France to one in London. One of the most well-known paintings from Ribera's mature period, having been shown in numerous exhibitions organized over the past fifty years, it has been identified correctly by Soria as the personification of the sense of hearing and is a companion to *The Drinker* (cat. 45). These works constitute one of the most extraordinary ensembles of portraits from life.

NS

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Paris; Spanish Art Gallery, London; Mr. and Mrs. F. A. Drey, London; Mr. and Mrs. R. E. A. Drey, London.

EXHIBITIONS

Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 20, pp. 160–61.

REFERENCES

Felton 1971, no. A.54, pp. 243–44; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 114, p. 111.

in London, the other in the Oslo Nasjonalgaleriet. The two paintings are correctly identified as personifications of hearing and smell, but only the first is by Ribera and can have belonged to a series of the Five Senses, which is now incomplete.

NS

PROVENANCE

Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Braganza (by 1854; cat 1876, p. 68, inv. 1887); Museo

de la Trinidad, Madrid; Mr. and Mrs. Algur Meadows, Dallas (from 1958); (sale, L'Hôtel Richemond, Geneva, June 21, 1976); Manuel Gonzales, Madrid. Pau 1876, p. 68; Seville 1973, no. 84.

EXHIBITIONS

Pau 1876, p. 68; Seville 1973, no. 84.

REFERENCES

Pantorba 1961, p. 24, fig. 25; Mesonero Romanos 1967, p. 388; Felton 1971, no. A.70, p. 269; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 113, p. 111; Felton and Jordan 1982, fig. 151, p. 161.



Here attributed to Aniello Falcone
(1607–1656)

47 *Boy with a Vase of Flowers* (*Sense of Smell*)

Oil on canvas, $23\frac{1}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$ in. (59 × 45 cm)
Nasjonalgaleriet, Oslo; inv. no. 1345

ALTHOUGH USUALLY considered an autograph work by Ribera and associated with the previous two pictures (cats. 45, 46),¹ this painting of the *Sense of Smell* differs substantially from them in facture and conception. When the three pictures were shown together at the Naples venue of this exhibition, it became apparent that not only does the picture not belong to the same

series, it may not be by Ribera. The sensibility—sober, harsh, and tied to a rigorous naturalism—may be that of Aniello Falcone (1607–1656), who is known to have trained with Ribera and could easily have created works in this style. In any event, it is worthwhile reconsidering the group and the problems they present.

AEPS

1. Felton (1971, no. X.420, pp. 582–83) at first considered it a copy of a lost original but later (Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 161) judged it an original work from the series.

PROVENANCE

A. S. Drey, Munich; R. Prideaux, London; Julius Böhler, Munich; Christian Langaard, Oslo (1912–23); Nasjonalgaleriet, Oslo (from 1923).

EXHIBITIONS

Stockholm 1959–60, no. 83; Naples 1984, vol. 1, no. 2.204, p. 415.

REFERENCES

Thiis 1913, vol. 1, pp. 91–93; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2433; Lozoya 1960, pp. 276–77; Gudiol 1960, pp. 373–77, fig. p. 375; Felton 1971, no. X.420, pp. 582–83; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 115, p. 111; Felton and Jordan 1982, fig. 152, p. 161.

48 *A Jesuit Missionary*

Oil on canvas, $76\frac{1}{4} \times 43\frac{1}{4}$ in. (195 × 110 cm)
Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera español*
valenciano / F. 1638
Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan

THIS IS UNQUESTIONABLY the finest of Ribera's rare portraits and, indeed, one of the masterpieces of Seicento portraiture. Unfortunately, we cannot identify the elderly Jesuit sitter. The lion—perhaps superior even to that of the standing figure in handling—suggests a missionary father through its reference to the evangelist Mark. De Dominici writes that Ribera at one point was engaged in work for the count of Monterrey's confessor, who belonged to the Jesuit order and was attached to the Collegio di San Francesco Saverio (today San Ferdinando) and the Gesù Nuovo. (The former has an old copy of Ribera's *Apparition of the Christ Child to Saint Anthony*, dated 1636, at the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid; the latter has two of his three paintings made for the large altarpiece by Cosimo Fanzago in the Cappellone di Sant'Ignazio, dated about 1643–44.) On the basis of De Dominici's writings, Craig Felton has advanced the hypothesis that this portrait might be the count of Monterrey's spiritual father, who was staying at San Francesco Saverio, a short distance from the Palazzo Reale. Unfortunately, we do not know his name, nor do we possess any other biographical data.

NS

PROVENANCE

Count Carlo Castelbarco, Milan (until 1870; sale, Paris, May 2–6, 1870, lot 30); G. Baslini, Milan (until 1881); Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan (from 1881).

EXHIBITIONS

Florence and Milan 1951, no. 82, pl. 104; Bordeaux 1955, no. 52; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 25.

REFERENCES

Morassi, n.d., no. 95, p. 25; Mayer 1923, pp. 129, 200; Pillement 1929, pl. 39; Morassi 1936, p. 6; Wittgens 1937, no. 95; Mayer 1947, p. 300; Trapier 1952, pp. 159–62, fig. 112; Lafuente Ferrari 1953, p. 262; Berenson 1955, no. 59; Ainaud de Lasarte 1955–56, pp. 115–19; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2359, fig. 140; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, pp. 113–14, no. 133; Waterhouse 1983, p. 248.

49 *Moses*

Oil on canvas, 66 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 38 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (168 × 97 cm)
Museo e Certosa di San Martino, Naples

PROVENANCE

Certosa di San Martino, Naples (from 1638).

EXHIBITIONS

London and Washington 1982–83, nos. 124–25.

REFERENCES

Faraglia 1892, p. 670; Trapier 1952, pp. 161–62; Felton 1971, no. A.74–75, pp. 275–76; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, nos. 135–36, p. 115.

50 *Elijah*

Oil on canvas, 66 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 38 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (168 × 97 cm)
Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F. 1638*
Museo e Certosa di San Martino, Naples

PROVENANCE

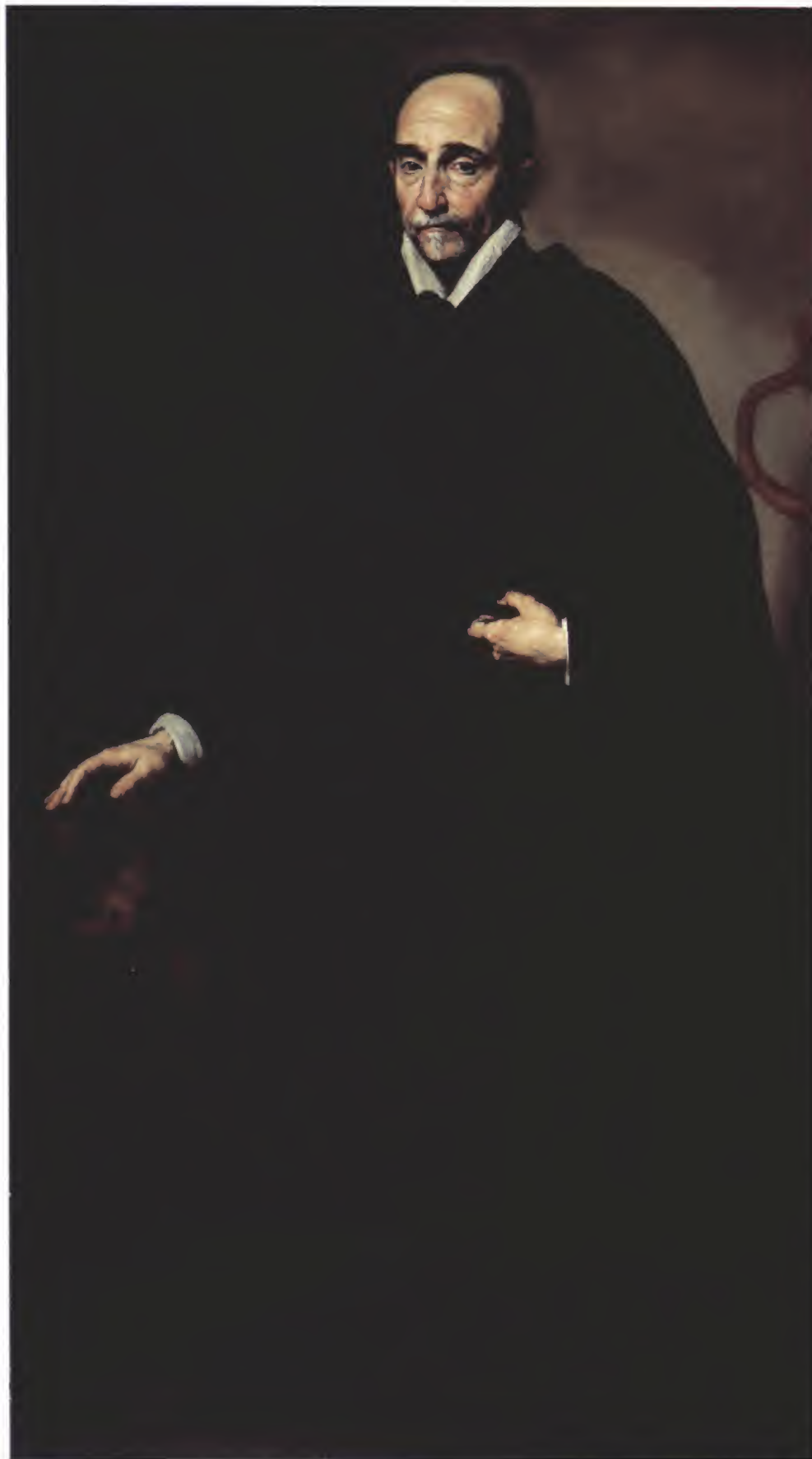
Certosa di San Martino, Naples (from 1638).

EXHIBITIONS

See cat. 49.

REFERENCES

See cat. 49.







THESE PSYCHOLOGICALLY POWERFUL and masterfully painted prophets were among the first in the series of prophets and patriarchs painted by Ribera for the Certosa di San Martino after he received the commission in 1638 from Prior Pisante. Certain payments registered from February 1 on throughout 1638 refer to these works. The two canvases are installed on the interior facade of the church, within marble frames designed by Cosimo Fanzago and to the sides of the *Pietà* painted that same year by Massimo Stanzione.

There is a copy of the *Elijah*, initialed and dated *JR 1642* (39 × 28¼ in. [99 × 73 cm]), which, in 1958, belonged to Victor Spark in New York. This copy was considered by Fitz Darby and by Gaya Nuño to be an original but later was attributed to Francesco Fracanzano. Subsequently, Bologna suggested that it and a contemporary copy in the Pinacoteca D'Erico in Matera (40⅞ × 29⅞ in. [102 × 74 cm]) were more likely to be the work of Giovanni Richa, a Neapolitan painter of Iberian origins.¹

NS

1. Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 430, pp. 141–42.



51 *A Music Teacher*

Oil on canvas, 30⅜ × 24⅝ in. (77.2 × 62.5 cm)

Signed and dated at right: *Jusepe de Ribera / F. 1638*

The Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio

IN 1960, Prota-Giurleo suggested that this painting—one of the most intense Italian portraits of the early Seicento—might depict Giovanni Maria Trabaci, organist and choirmaster of the Cappella Reale in Na-

ples from 1604 until 1647. This identification was rejected by Felton in 1982, since at the time the portrait was painted, Trabaci, born in 1575, would have been over sixty years old; the portrait depicts a man between the ages of thirty and forty. A smaller copy (17⅞ × 13 in. [44 × 33 cm]) is listed as being in the storerooms of the Muzeum Narodowe of Warsaw.

From 1734 until 1763, the painting was in the collection of Augustus III of Saxony, king of Poland.

NS

PROVENANCE

Augustus III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland (1734–63); Count Potocki (until 1885); Count Greg-

ory Stroganoff, Rome (by 1908–11; sale, Sangiorgi, Rome, 1925); Edward Drummond Libby (1925); The Toledo Museum of Art (from 1925).

EXHIBITIONS

New York 1928, no. 54; Toledo 1941, no. 54, p. 86; Oberlin 1957, no. 5; Sarasota 1961, no. 11; Indianapolis and Providence 1963, no. 65; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 26, pp. 190–91.

REFERENCES

Mayer 1908, pp. 124–25, pl. XXXVII; idem 1923, pp. 127–28, pl. XXXIII; Muñoz 1912, vol. 2, p. 107, pl. LXXXII; Mayer 1929, p. 149; Kapterewa 1956, pp. 39–40; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2348; Kubler and Soria 1959, p. 241; Prota-Giurleo 1960, pp. 190–91; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 124, p. 113.

52 *A Knight of the Order of Santiago*

Oil on canvas, 57½ × 42⅛ in. (146 × 107 cm)

Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, Dallas

ALTHOUGH most modern critics consider this painting to be by Ribera's hand and datable toward the end of the 1630s, it is still the subject of discussion, not only for its attribution (rejected in favor of the young Giordano by Zeri and viewed with some doubt by Ferrari), but also for its provenance and the identity of the sitter. It was exhibited in 1854 in the Museo de la Trinidad in Madrid as part of the collection of the infante Don Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Braganza, where it was described by Mesonero Romanos as a "Retrato de un Girón con colete y garas, célebre cuadro de Ribera" (Portrait of a Girón with doublet and eyeglasses, celebrated picture by Ribera).

In 1982, Felton brought up the problem of the painting's provenance, incorrectly stat-



ing that Spinosa had identified the painting's subject as Don Pedro Girón, duke of Osuna and viceroy of Naples from 1616 to 1620, condemned to death in 1622; this identification was, in fact, made by Felton himself in 1971. In 1982, Felton also suggested that the sitter was the count of Monterrey, viceroy from 1631 to 1637 and a noted patron of Ribera. This hypothesis is based on the presumed resemblance between the knight in the Dallas portrait and the count

depicted in a monument by Giuliano Finelli in Salamanca and in an engraving reproduced by Parrino in 1692 (but made in 1631). Felton's theory also rests on the possibility that the painting, before passing at the beginning of the last century into the collection of the infante Don Sebastián, was in the collection of the duchess of Alba, where it would have arrived in 1802, along with the entire Monterrey legacy. Nevertheless, the dates supplied by Felton do not re-

solve the many doubts surrounding the identity of the person depicted by Ribera, in part because there is a notable physiognomic difference between the Monterrey portrayed by Finelli and Parrino, a man with abundant hair and no eyeglasses, and the knight we see here, whose hair is thinning at the temples and who is wearing eyeglasses, and this in spite of the painting's rather official nature.

In any case, the person depicted here would have been a figure of great importance in the world of Spanish officialdom, perhaps even a viceroy or a high dignitary of the court. This is confirmed by the presence on the leather waistcoat of the collar of the powerful Order of Santiago (assigned only to nobles of Iberian nationality), as well as by the baton, on the right, of the captain general of the Spanish forces; the red band from neck to hip refers to the side taken by Spain during the Thirty Years War. Perplexity has recently been expressed concerning whether the painting should be attributed to Ribera or to the young Giordano, perhaps motivated by the hands, which are close to examples in Giordano's work after 1652. Such hesitation, it seems, would be overcome in the light of our current, extensive knowledge of Ribera's work between 1637 and 1640—the period that the painting seems closest to—and the work of Giordano, who never achieves such expressive naturalistic intensity, even in his most Riberesque works (such as the "portraits" of ancient philosophers made in the manner of Ribera). A copy of *A Knight of the Order of Santiago* was in the collection of Manuel González in Madrid in 1978, having come from the same collection of the infante Don Sebastián.

NS

PROVENANCE

Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Braganza (by 1854; inv. 1887); Marchioness of Villafranca (until 1925; sale, Christie's, London, July 17, 1925, lot 152); P. Jackson Higgs, New York (1925–27); Count Alessandro Contini-Bonacossi, Florence and Rome

(1927–55); his daughter Anna Maria Pappi (1955); Colnaghi, London, and Richard L. Feigen, New York (1955–77); Meadows Museum, Dallas (from 1977).

EXHIBITIONS

Pau 1876; Colnaghi and Co., *Paintings by Old Masters*, London, 1974; San José 1978, no. 42; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 24.

REFERENCES

Longhi and Mayer 1930, no. 53, pl. XLVI; Pantorba 1946, pp. 25, 33; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2367; Mesonero Romanos 1967, p. 338; Felton 1971, no. A.58, pp. 248–49; Meadows Museum, *New Acquisitions*, Dallas, 1977, p. 57; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 134, pl. 114–15.

53 *Old Usurer*

Oil on canvas, 30 × 24½ in. (76 × 62 cm)

Signed lower left: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F.* 1638

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 2506

BECAUSE ITS SIGNATURE, which is absolutely authentic, has been doubted, this work has been the subject of little study. The existence of a nearly identical, although smaller, example in the Alte Pinakothek in



Munich confirms the existence of an original by Ribera, which was probably well known and appreciated by contemporaries. There is no serious historical or aesthetic reason to deny that the original is this version in the Prado, which is of an extraordinarily high technical level.

Mayer thought it likely that this was the painting taken from the Palazzo di Capodimonte, in Naples, to the Musée Napoléon in Paris following Napoleon's confiscations. That work showed a "half-length figure of an old woman weighing gold," accompanied by another painting of an old man. There is no further documentation of this canvas, and we do not know from whom Xavier Laffite acquired it before giving it to the Prado in 1930. However, Mayer's identification is plausible.

It has been observed that the same image appears in the so-called *Physician's Meeting*, in the collection of Lord Methuen at Corsham Court. This painting was once attributed to Ribera, although it is only the work of a disciple, who copied the master's motifs. Spinosa believed that it could be attributed with greater likelihood to the young Francesco Fracanzano or to a Neapolitan painter strongly influenced by Ribera, but with a very different expressive intensity.¹

AEPS

1. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 417, p. 141.

PROVENANCE

Palazzo di Capodimonte; Musée Napoléon, Paris; Xavier Laffite (by 1930); Museo del Prado, Madrid (from 1930).

EXHIBITIONS

Munich and Vienna 1982, no. 75; Sofia 1989, no. 18.

REFERENCES

Mayer 1928; idem 1934b, p. 293; Felton 1971, no. X.360, p. 558; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 417; Haraszti-Takács 1983, no. 175, p. 210.

54 *Dream of Jacob*

Oil on canvas, 70½ × 91¼ in. (179 × 233 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera español F. / 1639*

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1117

ACQUIRED for Isabella Farnese as a Murillo with its companion, *The Liberation of Saint Peter* (cat. 55), this is undoubtedly one of Ribera's most noble and poetic works. It is also one of his most monumental and solidly constructed compositions, as was noted in the Aranjuez Palace inventory of 1794.

Ribera has represented the episode from Genesis (28:11–22) narrating the dream, or heavenly vision, of the patriarch Jacob, who, on his way to Haran, saw a heavenly ladder on which angels were ascending and descending. Treated on numerous occasions through the centuries, the theme was endowed with symbolic and metaphoric meanings. To Saint John Climacus (579–649), it was the Ladder of Virtue, leading to God through spiritual perfection; to Saint Benedict, it was the Scala Humilitatis (Ladder of Humility). In Baroque painting there are frequent representations of the ladder as a physical entity. Ribera, however, prefers to stress the human aspect of the story: the shepherd, who lies fast asleep against a rock. The artist barely suggests the ladder within a beautiful aura that fuses with gold-streaked clouds in the background. At the same time, the delicate, almost disembodied figures of angels dissolve into those clouds. The originality lies in the contrast between a vision and the recumbent figure's robust materiality. The powerful mass of the sleeping Jacob is further emphasized by the rounded volume of the tree trunk, which, itself almost recumbent, increases and intensifies the horizontality of the composition.

It is not possible to accept the suggestion of Marcus Burke that this picture and

its companion are the *Jacob* and *Liberation of Saint Peter* that, in 1669, belonged to the duke of Medina de las Torres, for those pictures are today in the Escorial. Rather, the Prado *Dream of Jacob* and *Liberation of Saint Peter* are more likely to be those paintings listed in the inventory of the collection of Don Jerónimo de la Torre, which were inherited by his daughter María Francisca de la Torre in 1694 and sold in 1718.¹ Ardemans and Palomino described the pictures with great precision, placing high valuations on them, as they did on other canvases by the artist that later entered the royal collection. The change of attribution from Ribera to Murillo for the *Dream of Jacob* might seem surprising, but it was well known that Isabella Farnese admired the Sevillian painter's works, and her preferences were certainly behind the change.

The cleaning of the painting, undertaken in preparation for this exhibition, has revealed the true beauty of the color of the sky, which fills more than half of the canvas with a luminous brilliance not previously visible. Its limpid translucency and luminosity also help account for its having been attributed to Murillo in the eighteenth century, in a period when Ribera was undoubtedly seen, as Palomino defined him, as a painter who delighted "not in painting sweet, devout things [but] in expressing horrendous, harsh things."² That image of the artist still persists today, though the serene lyricism of this canvas is enough to demonstrate how mistaken it is.

AEPS

1. Artiles 1928, p. 86.

2. Palomino de Castro y Velasco.

PROVENANCE

Don Jerónimo de la Torre (1658); Francisca de la Torre (1694); Jerónimo de la Torre (sale, 1718); Royal Collections of Spain; Palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso (invs. 1746, 1774 [as a Murillo]); Palace of Aranjuez (until 1818; inv. 1794); Academia de San Fernando Madrid (1818–27); Museo del Prado (from 1827).

EXHIBITIONS

Geneva 1939, no. 73; London and Washington 1982–83, no. 126.



54





REFERENCES

Catalogues of the Museo del Prado 1854–58, no. 116; idem 1872–1907, no. 982; idem 1910–85, no. 1117; Mayer 1923, pp. 149–51; Tormo y Monzó 1927, p. 15, fig. 33; Artiles 1928, p. 86; Trapier 1952, pp. 162–65; Saltillo 1955, p. 227; Chenault 1971, p. 73; Felton 1971, no. A.88, pp. 280–81; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 150; Sánchez Amores 1987, pp. 10–18; Galera Andreu 1988, p. 93; Benito Doménech 1991, pp. 132–36.

55 *The Liberation of Saint Peter*

Oil on canvas, 69 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 91 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (177 × 232 cm)

Signed and dated at lower left: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F. 1639*

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1072

UNLIKE its companion (cat. 54), this work has never had its attribution to Ribera questioned, not just because of its clearly visible signature but also because of its strong chiaroscuro. The composition can almost be considered a reflection of that of the *Dream of Jacob*: the recumbent body of the saint is the equivalent of the patriarch's, and the silhouette of the angel corresponds to the solid trunk of the oak tree. The two canvases must have been conceived together, and they display the same mastery and refinement of color that is so different from the tight, closed, and tenebrist naturalism of Ribera's early years in Naples. The illumination coming from the high, barred window recalls Caravaggio's *Vocation of Saint Matthew* in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome, but the application of paint has become extraordinarily fluid and luminous. In the beautiful figure of the angel, the violet-colored mantle and the brilliant, silvery white wings attest to Ribera's familiarity with the very refined chromatic harmonies of Van Dyck rather than with

those of Tintoretto or Veronese, as Craig Felton suggested.

Recently, an effort has been made to relate this canvas and its companion piece to two works that appear in the inventory of the duke of Medina de las Torres of 1669.¹ Since the inventory of the duke's collection refers only to a *Jacob* without specifying the scene, the inventory paintings are much more likely to be the ones today in the Escorial collections, where a *Saint Peter Liberated by the Angel* is paired with a *Jacob with His Flocks* (cat. 28).

AEPS

1. Burke 1989, p. 133.

PROVENANCE

Don Jerónimo de la Torre (1658); Francisca de la Torre (1692); Royal Collections of Spain; Palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso (invs. 1746, 1774); Palace of Aranjuez (until 1818; inv. 1794); Museo del Prado (from 1818).

EXHIBITION

Sofia 1989, no. 19.

REFERENCES

Catalogues of the Museo del Prado 1854–58, no. 1912; idem 1872–1907, no. 987; idem 1910–85, no. 1073; Mayer 1923, p. 138; Ponz 1947, p. 894; Trapier 1952, pp. 165–66, 173, 182; Sarthou Carreres 1953, pp. 14–60; Felton 1971, no. A.89, pp. 282–83; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 151; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 58; Burke 1989, p. 133.

56 *The Martyrdom of Saint Philip*

Oil on canvas, 92 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 92 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (234 × 234 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F. 1639*

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1101

SAINT PHILIP, who preached in the city of Hierapolis in Asia Minor, was crucified not by being nailed to the cross but by being tied to it with ropes. Although he is

sometimes represented as old and bearded, he is also shown as relatively young and beardless. His customary attribute is the cross, which he usually holds in his hand when he is portrayed alone.

The painting was long considered to be a depiction of the martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew, though it lacks the knife that is the attribute of that saint (whom Ribera represented often). In 1953, Fitz Darby convincingly identified the subject as the preparation for the martyrdom of Saint Philip, the patron saint of King Philip IV, for whom this work is often said to have been painted.

To identify this canvas with a work that appeared in Pedro de Madrazo's inventory of the Alcázar in 1666, 1686, and 1700 as "a man being tortured" is unjustified; that description seems to apply to the Prado *Ixion* (cat. 26). The present painting appears in inventories of 1734 among those saved from the Alcázar fire: "808. A canvas two and three-quarter varas square, in a plain gilded frame, slightly damaged, of the Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew, an original by Ribera." The dimensions (90 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [230 × 230 cm]) correspond. Like *The Blessing of Jacob* (cat. 44), the canvas was probably transferred to the palace collection after 1689, perhaps during the reign of Philip V (r. 1700–46). Once installed in the new palace, it must have been greatly admired: Ponz calls it a "painting of enormous strength and terrible expression, particularly in the executioners," a judgment repeated by Ceán Bermúdez.

The reading of the date is difficult today owing to the loss of the final digit, sometimes taken for a zero. There can be little doubt that the date is 1639, which would accord perfectly with the Baroque character of the painting—both in its composition, dominated by broad diagonals and audacious foreshortenings, and in its sumptuous chromatic quality. (A date of 1630 has been accepted on occasion because of the relative similarity of the martyr to the figures of the Giants of 1632 [cat. 26], but



56



Ribera's increased technical virtuosity and the work's greater atmospheric veracity confirm the later dating.)

This is one of Ribera's most accomplished and expressive works, one in which his mature technique is displayed to the full. The action takes place outdoors against a luminous background of clouds, with the figures dramatically lit by the blinding rays of the sun. The executioners raising the crossbar; the inert body of the saint, his face a study of devotion; the remarkable secondary figures on the right, who look on with curiosity; and those bathed in light on the left, who appear indifferent, are fully Baroque, as is the impressionistic and vibrant technique, carried to an extreme not previously seen in Ribera. It is a technique that evokes the most daring manner of Goya, of more than a century later.

Poetically, if ironically, Eugenio d'Ors has written that this unusual canvas "offers to the eye the gift of a true festival, including theatrical luxury and luxurious scenery," and has described it as "almost, almost . . . a Russian dance."

AEPS

PROVENANCE

Royal Collections of Spain; Alcázar, Madrid (by 1666–1734); Palacio Real, Madrid (invs. 1772, 1794, and 1814); Museo del Prado.

EXHIBITIONS

Geneva 1939, no. 71; New York 1965.

REFERENCES

Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 191; catalogues of the Museo del Prado 1854–58, no. 42; idem 1872–1907, no. 989; idem 1910–85, no. 1101; Lefort 1893, p. 147; Mayer 1923, pp. 63–67; Tormo y Monzó 1927, no. 37, p. 15; Ponz 1947, p. 530; Trapier 1952, pp. 65–71, figs. 41–42, 44; Felton 1971, no. A.90, pp. 284–85; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 152; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 58; Brown 1984, p. 147; Domínguez Sánchez 1989, p. 106; d'Ors 1989, p. 59.

57 *Holy Family in a Carpenter's Workshop*

Oil on canvas, 100¼ × 79⅞ in. (256 × 201 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right (illegible)
Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta, Rome

THIS PAINTING depicts a favorite theme in Spanish painting, the holy family with Joseph as a carpenter. In keeping with most of these scenes, it is set in a modest interior and shows humble figures subordinate to the demands of work. At the same time, the three figures of the Madonna, Saint Joseph, and the infant Christ are meant to be interpreted as the terrestrial projection of the Trinity. As with the painting in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. 66), the idea for the picture was from the poem on the life of Joseph written by José de Valdivielso.

The work is one of a series of poetic paintings that Ribera executed between the late 1630s and the 1640s; they employ everyday feelings and a domestic intimacy to emphasize the sentimental and psychological relationships between the characters. In its new and masterful monumentality, in its conscious harmony of refined chromatic effects, and in its emphasis on profound human truths, which remove the evangelical subject from any sort of sacramental overtones, the work anticipates the *Holy Family* in New York, which also offers analogies for the composition and the arrangement of the figures in space.

The hieratic and almost idol-like figures of the Virgin and the infant Christ contrast with the gentle, refined image of Joseph at work, captured in a moment of contemplation. The basket, the table, the carpenter's tools, and the yellow cloak with its elaborate folds seem almost independent still-life passages. A similar sense of subdued, intimate reality marks a later painting, in the Villagonzalo collection in Madrid, of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*.¹

The painting comes from the chapel of the Castello dei Cusani Visconti in Chignolo Po. After World War II, it was bequeathed to the Knights of Malta.

There are numerous copies: one workshop version, previously thought by Mayer to be by Ribera's hand, is in the Museo de Santa Cruz in Toledo and bears a repainted signature and date of 1639. Another version from the school of Ribera, considered by Trapier to be an original, is in the Monastery of San Lorenzo at the Escorial and is signed and dated 1632. A late copy, with a signature and date of 1632 (probably a mistaken transcription of the painting shown here), is in the Church of San Pietro ad Aram in Naples. The painting in the Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, in Berlin was published by Mayer as a copy of what he presumed to be the original in Toledo. A further picture, whose authenticity was denied by both Felton and Mayer, is in the Museum Wiesbaden. Other references to works in Madrid and Puerto San Maria were given by Fitz Darby.

The painting was restored in the eighteenth century, and it was relined in the nineteenth century. A complete restoration was carried out by Bruno Arciprete on the occasion of this exhibition.

DMP

1. See Spínosa 1984b, pp. 594, 597, figs. 587–589.

PROVENANCE

Chapel of the Castello dei Cusani Visconti, Chignolo Po; bequeathed to the Order of the Knights of Malta.

REFERENCES

Fitz Darby 1946, no. 42, p. 170.





58 *Adoration of the Shepherds*

Oil on canvas, 89 in. × 10 ft. 4 in. (226 × 317 cm)

Signed: *Jusepe de Ribera* / español, valenciano de la ciudad de Xativa / *Accademico Romano* / F. 1640

Patrimonio Nacional, Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, Madrid

AT THE MONASTERY OF THE ESCORIAL are two large paintings of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, mentioned in descriptions and guides since the seventeenth century. Be-

cause the canvases had been poorly preserved and access to them difficult, their attribution had been placed in doubt. Felton (1971) recognized only one as a work by Ribera and ignored the other. Spinosa, following observations made by Ferdinando Bologna, attributed both to Giovanni Dò, Ribera's problematic disciple and collaborator; he compared them to the only work that can be attributed to Dò with any certainty—the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Church of the Pietà dei Turchini in Naples, mentioned by De Dominici. The similarity between the Escorial canvases and this painting by Dò is superficial: the style and character are completely different, and

it seems certain that Dò limited himself to copying some figures of the master, integrating them into his composition.

The restoration of the two Escorial canvases has left no doubt concerning their authenticity. With the removal of the clumsy retouches, numerous passages of notable quality came to light. The force of the composition, characterized by considerable expressive intensity and perfect equilibrium, as well as the prodigious realism of the still-life details, makes it one of the most important works from a particularly creative period of Ribera's career. The significance of the painting was understood by those who studied it in the past, before it was

unjustly omitted from recent specialized literature. Nevertheless, at the Escorial it has always been considered a work of conspicuous importance, according to local tradition.

This is probably the same painting that belonged to the collection of the duke of Medina de las Torres and that was given to Charles II along with *Jacob with His Flocks* (cat. 28), which is also now in the Escorial. In a 1669 inventory, Carreño and Cabezalero appraised the painting at 600 ducats (8,600 reals), the highest value given for any work in the monastery.

The *Adoration of the Shepherds* joined the collection of the Escorial along with a group of paintings sent there by Charles II. According to the testimony of Padre Santos, in 1681 it was in the palace gallery, along with other works that had come from the collection of Medina de las Torres, a group consisting of twenty-three canvases "of great value and worth," "some by Jusepe de Ribera, the greater part; others by Luca Giordano, imitations of Titian; and others by various excellent artists." Particular mention is made of "the *Nativity of Our Savior*, an extremely beautiful and large painting by Jusepe de Ribera, which alone would suffice to honor the room."¹

In 1698 the painting was still there. In 1764, according to Padre Ximénez, it was installed in the apartments of the queen, "now inhabited by their Most Serene Highnesses." Some paintings that had earlier hung in the galleries were moved to these apartments, among them "a *Nativity*, very inventive, with the Holy Virgin dressed in a blue mantle, very original and beautiful, Saint Joseph well drawn, and the shepherds and angels executed with mastery. One can truly count this painting among the most famous by Lo Spagnoletto."

At the end of the eighteenth century, the paintings were redistributed, and many hung in different locations, as Ponz records. Ponz tells us that Ribera's *Nativity*, which had been in the palace, was moved to the

sacristy of the choir that faces the upper cloister of the monastery. He describes the painting with great praise, stating that "it is rightfully considered among the best things the painter has done. This painting could not be more realistic. The heads, the clothes of the shepherds, the wool, the long flowing robes, the sheep, and everything there is truthful. So too is the evocative illumination, the contrasts between the figures, the notable glory of angels, and the beauty of Our Lady, of the Child, and of Joseph."²

AEPS

1. Santos 1681, p. 82.

2. Ponz 1947, p. 192.

PROVENANCE

Probably Duke of Medina de las Torres (by 1669); Charles II; Monastery of the Escorial (invs. 1681, 1698).

EXHIBITION

Granada 1956, no. 36.

REFERENCES

Santos 1681, p. 82; idem 1698, p. 97; Ximénez 1764; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 190; Poleró 1857, no. 339, p. 90; Mayer 1923, p. 19; Ponz 1947, p. 192; Camón Aznar 1958, no. 30; Felton 1971, no. A.95, p. 290; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 392 (erroneously identified as no. 193); Burke 1989, pp. 132–35.

59 *Saint Mary of Egypt*

Oil on canvas, 52 1/8 x 41 1/4 in. (133 x 106 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F 1641*

Musée Fabre, Montpellier; inv. no. 837.1.27

SAINT MARY of Egypt was a popular subject with patrons deeply influenced by the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. Inventories of old collections and records of payment include references to many devotional

studies of elderly hermits in the wilderness, which were expressions of both the value of penitence and the ephemeral nature of earthly life.

The compositional formula and format were used by Ribera often: a three-quarter-length figure placed behind a stone ledge on which stand symbols of penitence, with a rocky background that leads to the dens and caves that were the hermits' refuges during their lives of meditation in the desert. The imposing quality of the figure is heightened by a palette consisting of a few harmonious earth colors, which creates an intimate relationship between the saint and the natural setting that surrounds her.

The powerful realism of the saint's wrinkles and of the accentuated folds of her skin never surrenders to artifice, melodrama, or mere detail. Even the bread and the skull serve as symbols of the hermit's chosen lot, the bread referring to the three loaves the saint received following her conversion after a long period of dissolute living. The bread, a reference to the Eucharist, miraculously multiplied to nourish her during her forty-seven years as a penitent. The skull, reflecting the transience of life, is, in the words of De Dominici, one of "[Ribera's] death's-heads so diverse and so real that they are truly wondrous."¹

Ribera has transformed Saint Mary, a former courtesan, into an old woman wasted by privation, and has given her a severe, rigorous, and dramatic presence that becomes poetic through the passionate evocation of her love of God.

A copy of the painting, in which the proportions of the saint are reduced, is in the Galleria Borghese, Rome. A seventeenth-century copy hangs in the Church of Sainte-Marie-l'Égyptienne in Saint-Angoine (Isère).

DMF

1. De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 18.

PROVENANCE

Marquess of Gerini, Florence (by 1786, when engraved by Carlo Franci); F. X. Fabre (1825/26–37); Musée Fabre, Montpellier (from 1837).



59

EXHIBITIONS

Naples 1938, no. 12, p. 323; Bern 1939, no. 79; Paris 1939, no. 100; Paris 1963, no. 71; Montpellier 1978, no. 9; Madrid 1981, no. 1; Marseilles 1988, no. 74, p. 231; Naples 1989a, no. 74, pp. 232–33.

REFERENCES

Clément de Ris 1859–61, vol. 2, pp. 231–32; Lavice 1870, p. 378; Clément de Ris 1872, p. 269; Gonse 1875, pp. 115–16; catalogue of the Musée Fabre 1878, no. 252; idem 1879, no. 146, p. 33; idem 1890, no. 624, p. 157; Gonse 1900–1904, vol. 1, pp. 200–202; catalogue of the Musée Fabre 1904, no. 776, p. 214; Mayer 1908, pp. 85, 185, 188; Lafond 1909, pp. 66–67; Mayer 1913, vol. 2, p. 27; idem 1923, pp. 84, 198;

von Loga 1923, p. 208, n. 1; catalogue of the Musée Fabre 1926, no. 167, p. 52; Pillement 1929, p. 45; catalogue of the Musée Fabre 1938, pp. 15–18; Isarlo 1941, vol. 2, p. 201; Mayer 1947, p. 298; Trapier 1952, pp. 170, 175, n. 113; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2374; Rouchès 1958, p. 157; Laclotte and Baticle 1963, p. 124; López-Rey 1963b, p. 335; Cuoco 1966; Guinard 1967, pp. 222, 395; Felton 1971, no. S.62, pp. 379–80; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 166, p. 118.

60 *The Clubfooted Boy*

Oil on canvas, 64 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 36 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (164 × 93 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera Español / F. 1642*

Musée du Louvre — Département des Peintures, Paris; inv. no. M 1893

WITH THIS PAINTING, Ribera clearly and forcefully expresses his participation in and solidarity with a world of wretched and ragged creatures, to whom he here restores dignity. The small beggar, set against a vast blue sky and a low horizon, occupies most of the composition. The figure's monumentality, which is amplified by the almost monochrome tonality, the simplicity of the composition, and the viewpoint from below, emphasizes the deformity of the feet, rendered with minute descriptive objectivity. Yet the resulting image is not grotesque; neither does it conform to the taste for the unusual and disfigured seen in numerous drawings executed early in Ribera's career. Nor is the painting evidence of simple curiosity about the more unusual aspects of nature. Rather, its documentary quality, with the appearance of an unidealized depiction of a natural phenomenon, can be linked to the widespread influence of Giambattista della Porta's (1535–1615) scientific work, which found fertile terrain in seventeenth-century Naples.

But this Neapolitan urchin is also an emblem of the transcending of the miserable realities of everyday life to become a vehicle for the transmission of a Christian message. Despite his deformity, the boy communicates a serenity and joy that are enhanced by the immense Mediterranean sky and the landscape that fades into the distance in the pale blue of the mountains.

The symbolic component of Ribera's portrayal of the clubfoot derives from the *cartellino* that the boy holds along with the crutch in his left hand and that bears the





words: DA MIHI ELIMO SINAM PROPTER AMOREM DEI (Give me alms for the love of God). This maxim can be associated with the Counter-Reformation theory that good works help to attain the salvation of the soul in opposition to the Protestant theory whereby salvation comes through faith.

Thus the boy embodies the theme of mercy toward the poor, which Saint Ignatius Loyola wrote about in his *Introduction to the Pious Life*. In this text Saint Francis, for whom poverty and charity were the highest virtues, illustrates various ways to achieve holiness. The painting is an invitation both to the rich to give to the poor (the hat in hand must be a gift received by the small beggar) and to the poor to rejoice in their state. The open smile that the young deformed boy bestows upon us can be understood in relationship to the writings of Pierre de Besse, who in his book on penance, *Le Démocrite chrétien*, considered laughter the most efficacious way of overcoming the misfortunes of life. Laughing while receiving charity, the child dispenses the grace that is conducive to salvation.¹ Ribera had already dealt with the theme of Christian charity in *The Beggar*, in the collection of the earl of Derby, and in *The Old Blind Beggar*, in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio.

The painting has been compared with a work of a similar composition, *Dwarf with a Dog*, previously in the Lederer collection in Vienna (the present location of which is unknown). Also, according to the sources, Ribera painted a work with a naked, deformed child, which was in the collection of the count of Monterrey.²

The painting's continuing popularity is attested to by the subject's revival in modern times: by Charles Maurin, in a work in the Musée Crozatier in Le Puy, and by Henri Matisse, in a painting the location of which is now unknown but which was included in the exhibition *H. Matisse* held at the Grand Palais in Paris in 1970.³

An old inscription on this painting's

frame indicates that the work was in the Neapolitan collection of the princes of Stigliano. It was probably painted for Don Ramiro Felipe de Guzmán, duke of Medina de las Torres and viceroy of Naples from 1637 until 1644, whose second wife was Anna Carafa Aldobrandini, princess of Stigliano.

DMP

1. Sullivan 1977–78.
2. Pérez Sánchez 1977, no. 186, p. 451.
3. Paris 1970, no. 2C; Rosenberg, in Naples 1992, pp. 90, 94.

PROVENANCE

Possibly Don Ramiro Felipe de Guzmán, duke of Medina de las Torres, viceroy, 1637–64; princes of Stigliano, Naples; Dr. Louis La Caze, Paris (until 1869); Musée du Louvre, Paris (from 1869).

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1849, no. 36; Aix-en-Provence 1941, p. 203; Paris 1942, no. 26; Paris 1963, no. 72, pp. 187–88; Tokyo 1966, no. 32; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 33, pp. 210–13; Naples 1984, vol. 1, no. 2.206, pp. 418–19.

REFERENCES

Mantz 1870, pp. 393–406; Lefort 1882, pp. 40–43; Charcot and Richer 1889, pp. 42–44; Lafond 1902, p. 227; Reinach 1913, no. 1725, p. 205; Mayer 1923, pp. 145–46, 198; Hauteceur 1929, vol. 2, p. 163; Nicolle 1929, pp. 7–8; Pillement 1929, p. 46; Mayer 1947, p. 300; Trapier 1952, p. 174; Fitz Darby 1953, p. 74; Domínguez 1953, pp. 80–84; Lafuente Ferrari 1953, p. 266; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2375; Waterhouse 1962, p. 178; López-Rey 1963b, pp. 333–44; Constans 1969, p. 126; Felton 1971, pp. 291–93; Causa 1972, p. 927; Sullivan 1977–78, pp. 17–21; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 174, p. 119; de Chennevières 1979, p. 121; de Brejon and Thiebault 1981, p. 122; Caen 1986, no. 12.

61 *Baptism of Christ*

Oil on canvas, 92½ × 63 in. (235 × 160 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera español / .F. 1643*

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy

PAINTED THE SAME YEAR as the small copper *Saint Bruno* (cat. 62) and a year after *The Clubfooted Boy* (cat. 60), with which works it shares a brilliant, plein-air setting and a low horizon set off by a blue mountain range, the Nancy *Baptism of Christ* is one of Ribera's most accomplished masterpieces of his neo-Venetian phase. In it, the Caravaggesque realism of his early style has been completely subsumed into a vision of classical equipoise and calm, setting the stage for those great achievements of his last years, the *Holy Family with Saints Anne and Catherine of Alexandria* (cat. 66), of 1648, and the *Communion of the Apostles* (fig. 16), completed shortly before his death.

The iconography, with Christ, accompanied by two angels, kneeling before John the Baptist, is conventional, but the contrast Ribera draws between the ideal beauty of Christ, whose handsome face is turned toward the viewer, and the rugged asceticism of the Baptist, who stares raptly at the vision of "the Spirit like a dove descending" (Mark 1: 10), is in line with classical norms of decorum. The work's planar composition and use of carefully articulated, echoing gestures make this one of the most compelling statements of a native, Neapolitan classicism that was so important for the works of Bernardo Cavallino and Massimo Stanzione. Wolfgang Prohaska has characterized the picture as Bolognese in inspiration and compared it to Guido Reni's *Baptism* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. It is conceivable that in realizing it, Ribera restudied Agostino Carracci's engraving after Annibale's painting of the same theme. Did he possibly also know Veronese's canvas, now in the



North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, which was documented in the Palazzo Stigliano, Naples, in the nineteenth century?

The picture is first recorded by Palomino in the Convent of San Pascual Bailón, Madrid, where it hung on one side of the crossing, together with a *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*. On the high altar was an *Immaculate Conception* and, on the other side of the crossing, were a *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* and a *Saint Paul the Hermit*. The *Immaculate Conception* is usually identified with the poorly preserved canvas in the Prado, a work that shares some of the sweetly "devout" character of the angels in the *Baptism*. The *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* is the picture of 1628, now in Budapest (cat. 20). The *Saint Paul the Hermit* has occasionally been identified with the picture now in the Louvre (cat. 68), and the *Saint Sebastian* has sometimes been identified with a picture formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (destroyed during World War II), which was dated 1636. All but the *Baptism* are listed in a 1647 inventory of the collection of Don Juan Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera,¹ who was viceroy of Naples from 1644 to 1646; they were reportedly given by his son to the Church of San Pascual, which Palomino says was founded by Don Juan. Presumably, the *Baptism* was commissioned by Don Juan for San Pascual. In Spain the painting enjoyed a well-deserved prestige. There can be little doubt that Murillo studied the picture during his trip to Madrid in 1655 and that his painting of 1668 in the Cathedral of Seville was to some degree inspired by it.

KC

1. Fernandez Duro 1902, nos. 384, 385, 410, 434.

PROVENANCE

Church of the Convent of San Pascual, Madrid; marquess of Salamanca (sale, Paris, June 3–6, 1867, lot 8 [bought in]; sale, 1875); Roxard de Lasalle (from 1875); Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy (from 1889).

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1963, no. 73; London and Washington, D.C., 1982–83, no. 127; Frankfurt 1988, no. D.49a.

REFERENCES

Mantz 1881, p. 250; Mayer 1908, p. 190; Ponz 1947, p. 422; Harris 1963b, p. 322; Felton 1971, no. A.99, pp. 297–98; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 181; London and Washington 1982–83, p. 231; Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1987, p. 124; Prohaska, in Frankfurt 1988, p. 667.

62 *Saint Bruno Receiving the Rule*

Oil on copper, 15 × 10 5/8 in. (38 × 27 cm)

Signed and dated: *Jusepe de / Ribera / español / F. 1643*

Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples

ALTHOUGH this painting is on display at Capodimonte, it is part of the historical collection of the priors of the Certosa



di San Martino. The painting appears to be one of the works that was commissioned for the Certosa in 1638 but completed only during the following decade. Intended for the apartments of the prior as a work of private devotion, the painting, probably because of its small size, is not mentioned in documents concerning Ribera's work for the Certosa. However, as one can deduce from the date, it was probably painted and consigned with the last canvases in the series for the spandrels in the church, which were also completed in 1643.

NS

PROVENANCE

Certosa di San Martino, Naples.

REFERENCES

Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 179, p. 120.



63 *Saint Anthony Abbot*

Oil on canvas, 81⅛ × 61⅛ in. (206 × 156 cm)

Signed and dated at lower left: *Joseph de Ribera / español F. 1644*

Pedro Montaner, Conde de Zavellà, Palma de Mallorca

ALTHOUGH THIS important work, of singular quality and originality despite its poorly conserved state, was mentioned by Mayer in 1923, it is hardly known. It has never before been photographed or shown, but it now assumes its rightful place as an outstanding example of Ribera's autograph work. It is the greatest known representation of the holy anchorite in the artist's oeuvre; by contrast, the frontal depiction of the saint now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, signed and dated 1647, is not only

a less important work but also one that has been altered by old restorations. The present painting is a superb example of the best of Ribera's production in the later part of his career, when the quality of his work was often compromised by the participation of his studio assistants.

Ribera's taste for compositions consisting of centered, strongly marked crossed diagonals, which contribute to the solid monumentality of the whole, is clearly evident in this canvas. The background of blue-streaked clouds with golden lights and the broad, vibrant brushstrokes with which the saint, his beard, and the infernal fire, seen to the right, are drawn are characteristics of

Ribera's final period. Mayer, who apparently never had the opportunity to study the work directly, hesitantly suggested a date of 1642 for it.

The expressive strength of the old man's imploring figure reveals an intensity of the highest order. The restoration of the painting, undertaken expressly for this exhibition, leaves no doubt as to its authenticity.

AEPS

PROVENANCE

Marquesses of Vivot, counts of Perelada, Palma de Mallorca (from 18th c.).

REFERENCES

Mayer 1923, p. 204; Felton 1971, no. v.28, p. 404.

64 *Head of the Baptist*

Oil on canvas, 26 × 30¼ in. (66 × 78 cm)

Signed and dated at bottom center: *Jusepe de Ribera español / F 1646*

Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri, Naples;
inv. no. 1455

PRECURSOR and herald of Christ, John the Baptist is the link between the Old Testament and the New. An ascetic, he lived mostly in the desert, preached to the masses, and baptized the faithful in the waters of the Jordan. He was imprisoned by the son of Herod the Great and was decapitated in fulfillment of a promise the tetrarch made to his stepdaughter, Salome.

The relic of the saint's head was taken from Constantinople to Amiens in 1206. It became an object of widespread veneration among the sick, the infirm, and the imprisoned. A precise indication of how the head was to be depicted, contained in the treatise *L'arte de la pintura* . . . (1649), by Francisco Pacheco, was followed by numerous artists who undertook the subject. Paintings on the theme, popularly considered an allegory of the Eucharist, were commissioned by many religious societies and confraternities that were concerned with the dying.

Here, the lurid head of the Baptist stands out against a dark background, a strong contrast to the white cloth and the gushing red blood. According to tradition, Ribera made many versions of this painting, few of which are known today. The earliest of them, though not the best, is perhaps the one in the Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid. This canvas from the Filangieri, which reverses the composition of the Academia painting, is notable for its refined palette and its vibrant luminosity.

The painting was once thought to have been made in 1647 as a portrait of one of



the nobles beheaded during the Masaniello revolt. In 1948, when the painting was cleaned and the date 1646 was clearly revealed, that hypothesis was no longer tenable.

Depictions of the head of John the Baptist were painted by Domenichino during his years in Naples and by Mattia Preti during the 1630s. Other known versions of the subject by Ribera include one formerly owned by the Algranti family and now in a private collection in the Canary Islands and another, signed and dated 1645, in a private collection in Barcelona. A copy of the latter painting is in a private collection in Rome. A later workshop variant from the collection of Ema Destinnova has been recorded in a private collection in Prague.¹

The painting was restored in 1948 by Vincenzo Fiorillo.

DMP

1. Stepánek 1989–90, no. 34.

PROVENANCE

Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri, Naples (cat. 1888).

EXHIBITIONS

Bucharest 1972, n.p.; Naples 1972; London and Washington 1982–83, no. 128, pp. 231–32, and Naples 1982, no. 128, p. 251.

REFERENCES

Filangieri 1888, vol. 1, no. 1455, p. 328; Frizzoni 1889, p. 299; Filangieri 1883–91, vol. 6, p. 342; Vittori 1894, p. 430; Rolfs 1910, pp. 303–4; Mayer 1923, p. 198; Trapier 1952, pp. 194–97; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 3295; Acton 1961, p. 28; Felton 1971, no. A.107, pp. 312–13; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 191, p. 122; Spear 1983, p. 134.



65 *Saint Simeon with the Infant Jesus*

Oil on canvas, 44½ × 36⅝ in. (113 × 93 cm)
Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera español .F.*
1647
Private collection

IN ACCORDANCE with iconography widespread from the beginning of the fourteenth century, Ribera has depicted Simeon as a high priest. A pious man to whom it was revealed that he would not die before he had seen the Messiah, Simeon holds the infant Jesus during his presentation in the temple.

The refined image, with its balanced composition and diffuse enveloping light, demonstrates the extremes of Ribera's pictorial choices. In physiognomy and position, this Jesus relates to the infant in Ribera's slightly later *Adoration of the Shepherds*, now in the Louvre (fig. 15).

The *Saint Simeon* was noted by Mayer in the collection of the marquess of Bristol¹ and was identified by Trapier as one of the paintings acquired in 1647 by Don Antonio Ruffo of Messina,² whose purchases also included a *Saint Jerome*, a *Saint Paul the Hermit*, and a *Saint Onuphrius*, all depicted by Ribera in half length. The paintings were bought in Naples by Don Antonio's nephew Tommaso Ruffo, abbot of San Domenico Maggiore; they appear in inventories of 1678 and 1729 compiled for the gallery of the Ruffo palace in Messina. Some of the family paintings were moved to Naples in 1822; the others, which remained at the Villa Ruffo in Gazzi, have been lost.

In the eighteenth century, the *Saint Simeon* was possibly in the collection of the second earl of Bristol, British ambassador to the court of Madrid from 1758 to 1761.³ The painting was restored by Robert

Shepherd in 1980 and was sold to the present owner in the following year.

DMP

1. Mayer 1908, pp. 146, 185, 188.
2. Trapier 1952, p. 194.
3. Felton 1971, pp. 314–315.

PROVENANCE

Don Antonio Ruffo, principe della Scaletta, Messina (1647–73; invs. 1649, 1673); Don Plácido Ruffo (1673–1710; inv. 1678); Don Antonio Ruffo II (1710–1734; inv. 1729); the Ruffo family, Messina; Frederick William John Hervey, 3rd marquess of Bristol, Bury Saint Edmunds, Ickworth (by 1875); marquesses of Bristol, Bury Saint Edmunds, Ickworth (until 1980); private collection, Madrid (from 1981).

EXHIBITIONS

London 1875, no. 118; London 1891, no. 106; London 1901, no. 85; London 1938, no. 228; Matthiesen Gallery, *Important Italian Baroque Paintings: 1600–1700*, London, 1981, no. 12, pp. 32–35; Mexico City 1990.

REFERENCES

Mayer 1908, pp. 146, 185, 188; Ruffo 1916, pp. 21ff.; Mayer 1923, p. 198; Gaunt 1938, p. 67 (illus.); Trapier 1952, p. 194; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2394; Felton 1971, no. A.108, pp. 314–15; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 193, p. 122, pl. LII.

66 *The Holy Family with Saints Anne and Catherine of Alexandria*

Oil on canvas, 82¼ × 60⅝ in. (209 × 154 cm)

Signed and dated at lower right: *Jusepe de Ribera español / accademico R.o. no / F. 1648*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1934 34.73

ACCORDING TO *The Golden Legend*, Saint Catherine of Alexandria was of royal descent and, after converting to Christianity, was persecuted by the emperor Maxentius, who had turned in vain to fifty philosophers to dissuade her from her faith.

Maxentius first had her tortured with a wheel and then decapitated.

This painting refers to an episode from the saint's life in which Catherine dreamed that the Christ Child, in the Virgin's arms, refused to have her as a handmaiden, since she was not sufficiently beautiful. After the dream had been interpreted, Catherine withdrew to the desert to learn from a hermit the precepts of the Christian faith. When she was baptized, she had a second vision in which she became the celestial bride of Christ. Her faith confirmed, Christ placed a ring upon her finger.

Another version not in *The Golden Legend* has it that the hermit gave the saint an image of the Madonna and Child and that Catherine's insistent prayers caused Christ first to turn his face toward her and then, when her faith was firmer, to place a ring upon her finger. The theme translates into visual terms the metaphor for the spiritual promise from oneself to God and is considered by some to have its origins in the Song of Songs. The painting could also refer to the poem (1602) by José de Valdivielso (1560–1638) on the life of Saint Joseph, in which the mystic marriage is described as an encounter between a young princess and a child who was to become king.

It is significant that Ribera did not depict the act of placing the ring on the saint's finger but rather the moment when Catherine kisses the hand of Jesus with extreme tenderness and submission. In doing so the artist stripped the painting of its strictly mystical significance in order to tell a more domestic and sentimental story, one that is both intimate and marked by great dignity.

Saints Joseph and Anne stand behind the principal characters, theatrically framing the scene. As they are illuminated less strongly than the figures in the foreground, they help to delimit the space behind the main scene and contribute to the composition's monumentality.

The group of the Virgin and Child has





evident analogies with Ribera's *Madonna and Child* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, whose date has been interpreted as both 1642 and 1648. It has been suggested that the prototype for that work is either Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* or his *Madonna del Popolo*. Similarities have been noted between Saint Anne and the figure of Rebecca in Ribera's *Blessing of Jacob* in the Prado (cat. 44) and between Saint Joseph and the Saint Joseph of the Certosa di San Martino *Pietà* (fig. 13).

The work, one of Ribera's masterpieces, is the most significant statement of the artist's late period, both in the refined chromatic juxtapositions and in the diffuse luminosity that reinforces the psychological tie between the characters. It represents a complete understanding of the classicism of Guido Reni and, through him, of Raphael himself. It is Ribera's most complete and expressive portrayal of a world marked by universal harmony and familial affection.

Ribera's relationship to Zurbarán can be seen in the formal subtleties of the rendering of the two female figures. It should also be emphasized that the intense still-life passages of fruit with a rose that Saint Anne holds in her hands and the wicker basket filled with sewing materials in the lower right-hand corner, constitute a paradigm for Seicento still-life painting in Naples and elsewhere.

This work was acquired in 1807–8 in Italy by the painter J.-B. Lebrun, who brought it to Paris in order to sell it. It then passed first into the collection of Sir Thomas Baring, and then into the collection of the count of Northbrook. It was subsequently owned by Henry George Charles Lascelles, count of Harewood. The painting was restored in 1979.

DMP

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Genoa (until 1807–8); Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun, Paris (1807/8–after 1810); Sir Thomas Baring, 2nd Bart., Stratton Park, South-

ampton, Hampshire (1824–48); Thomas Baring, M.P., Huntingdon (1848–73); Thomas George Baring, 1st earl of Northbrook, Stratton Park (1873–1904); Francis George Baring, 2nd earl of Northbrook, Stratton Park (1904–19; sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1919, no. 134); Colnaghi, London (1919–21); Henry George Charles Lascelles, Viscount Lascelles, later 6th earl of Harewood, London (1921–34); Arnold Seligmann, Rey and Co., Paris and New York (1934); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (from 1934).

EXHIBITIONS

London 1828, no. 51; London 1872, no. 97; London 1895–96, no. 61; London 1925; New York 1940, no. 115; New York 1952–53, no. 125; Boston 1970; New York 1971, no. 1; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 36.

REFERENCES

Lebrun 1809, vol. 2, pp. 18ff.; idem 1810, no. 128; Buchanan 1824, vol. 2, pp. 251, 255; Waagen 1838, vol. 3, p. 39; idem 1854, vol. 2, p. 180; Justi 1889, p. 343; Northbrook 1889, no. 237, pp. 182–83; Richter 1889, pp. 182ff., no. 237; Woermann 1890, p. 179; Mayer 1908, pp. 117–19; Lafond 1909, p. 69; Mayer 1913, p. 20; London 1919, no. 134, p. 26; Mayer 1922, p. 274; idem 1923, pp. 118ff., 198, 202; "The Magnasco Society" 1925, pp. 297–98; Wehle 1934, pp. 119–22; Fitz Darby 1946, pp. 160, 163, 167, 168–70, 172; Trapier 1952, pp. 179, 205; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2396; Kubler and Soria 1959, p. 242; Gallégo 1962, p. 107; Waterhouse 1962, p. 180; Angulo Iñiguez 1971, p. 109; Fahy 1971, p. 457; Felton 1971, no. A.109, pp. 316–18; Washington . . . Saint Louis 1972, p. 70; Haskell 1976, p. 20; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 194, p. 122.

67 *Saint Mary of Egypt*

Oil on canvas, 34½ × 28 in. (88 × 71 cm)

Signed and dated at lower left: *Jusepe de*

Ribera español / F 1651

Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri, Naples; inv. no. 1440

SAINT MARY of Egypt, former courtesan transformed into penitent hermit, was a subject Ribera repeated on various occasions.

In his earlier, more naturalistic period, he depicted the subject in a three-quarter view, placing her against an outcrop of stone on which rest vivid still-life fragments, and emphasizing the figure in relief against a dark background illuminated by a source from above. In later versions, such as this, his treatment of the subject became looser and his depiction more delicate in manner.

In this painting of a woman touched by grief and suffering, devoted to a life of denial, the artist's avoidance of strong contrasts of light and dark, together with his use of a diffused light, is accompanied by a new emotional and sentimental involvement. Thus, in his final years, through penetrating images completely lacking in rhetoric, Ribera showed that he was capable of expressing an inner world of deep feeling. Here, according to tradition that is completely undocumented, the penitent saint is to be identified with Ribera's daughter, purportedly seduced and then abandoned by Don Juan of Austria.

An early copy of the painting is in the Muzeul de Arta in Bucharest; another is in the Convent of San Giuseppe dei Cappuccini in Bologna. The Filangieri canvas was restored by Vincenzo Fiorillo in 1948.

DMP

PROVENANCE

Duke of Miranda, Naples; Museo Gaetano Filangieri, Naples (cat. 1888).

EXHIBITIONS

Florence 1911, no. 43; Florence 1922, no. 820, p. 153; Naples 1954b, no. 22, p. 21; Bucharest 1972; Naples 1972; London and Washington 1982–83, no. 130, p. 233, and Naples 1982, no. 130, p. 252; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 39, pp. 231–32.

REFERENCES

Filangieri 1888, vol. 1, no. 1440, pp. 308–9; Frizzoni 1889, p. 299; Filangieri 1883–91, vol. 6, p. 342; Ceci 1894, pp. 65–67; Vittori 1894, p. 430; Rolfs 1910, p. 305; Tarchiani 1911, p. 87; Marangoni 1922, p. 22; Giglioli 1922, p. 204; Mayer 1923, pp. 84–85, 198, 200; Ojetti 1924, p. 171; Trapier 1952, p. 217; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2409; Acton 1961, p. 31; Cuoco 1966; Felton 1971, pp. 321–23, no. A.111; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 206, p. 124.





68 *Saint Paul the Hermit*

Oil on canvas, 78 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 60 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (199 × 154 cm)

Inscribed: *Jusepe de Ribera español F*

Musée de Louvre — Département des
Peintures, Paris; inv. no. R F 125

ACCORDING TO tradition, Paul was the first of the hermits in Egypt to escape persecution by the Roman emperor Decius by dedicating himself to a life of asceticism in the desert. The legend follows the story of Elijah, who, like Paul, was also nourished each day by a crow that brought him bread, a symbol of the Eucharist. In his old age, Paul received a visit from Saint Anthony Abbot, who remained with the hermit until he died. In the painting, the crow is depicted in the distance, still in flight, and Saint Anthony can be identified as the figure glimpsed at the lower right.

The painting conforms to the standard representation of the subject, with the saint covered only by a loincloth made of intertwined palm leaves, whereas in depictions of Saint Onuphrius, that saint, while also shown white-haired and bearded, is wrapped in a band of oak leaves. The opening up of the background, the views of bright sky, and the more fluid handling of the paint (especially pronounced in the flesh pink of the hands and the face) make this a document of the artist's mature period.

The painting was acquired by the Louvre in 1875 at the sale of the collection of the marquess of Gouvello. Mayer, Haute-
coeur, and Gaya Nuño¹ agree with the attribution to Ribera, but Felton (who recorded a date of 1640, as well as a signature) considers it a product of Ribera's studio. Spinosa confirmed the signature and suggested a date for the painting in the last decade of Ribera's production.² This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the existence of another version that is signed

and dated 1652. Formerly in the Arezzo Scucces collection, Ragusa, Sicily, this work in turn has been compared to the *Saint William the Hermit* in the Pinacoteca of the Castello Sforzesco, Milan. A signed and dated (1652) version, which surfaced in Rome in the possession of an antiques dealer named Sebastì, is related to the painting formerly in Ragusa. A canvas now in a private collection in Campione d'Italia is also similar.

A workshop replica of the Louvre painting is in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin; a later derivation is in a private collection in Naples. A painting of an identical subject was in the Church of San Pascual Bailón, Madrid, together with a *Saint Andrew*, a *Saint Sebastian*, an *Immaculate Conception*, and a *Baptism of Christ* (on the identification of these, see cat. 61).³ Donated to the church by Don Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera, all of these works, with the exception of the *Baptism*, are listed in the 1647 inventory of the collection of Don Gaspar's father, Don Juan Alfonso, who was viceroy of Naples from 1644 to 1646. There, under number 385, is mentioned "a canvas of Saint Paul the first hermit," valued at 2,200 reals. The same

value was attached to the *Saint Sebastian*, which, if it can be identified with the painting formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (destroyed during World War II), is a work of about the same dimensions as the Louvre *Saint Paul*. Although the identification of the San Pascual picture with that in the Louvre is purely hypothetical, it cannot be dismissed, and it has a direct bearing on the date assigned to the painting.

DMP/KC

1. Mayer 1908, p. 188; idem 1923, pp. 134, 201; Haute-
coeur 1926, vol. 2, p. 162; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2412.
2. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 209a, p. 125.
3. Dezallier d'Argenville 1745, vol. 1, p. 340.

PROVENANCE

Marquess of Gouvello (until 1875); Musée du Louvre (from 1875).

EXHIBITIONS

Castres 1962–63.

REFERENCES

Dezallier d'Argenville 1745, vol. 1, p. 340; Mayer 1908, p. 188; Reinach 1913, no. 1723, p. 205; Mayer 1923, pp. 134, 201; Haute-
coeur 1926, vol. 2, p. 162; Gaya Nuño 1958, no. 2412; Felton 1971, no. S.67, p. 384; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 209a, p. 125.



69 *Saint Sebastian*

Oil on canvas, 49¼ × 39⅞ in. (125 × 100 cm)

Signed and dated at lower left: *Jusepe de Ribera español / . F. 1651*

Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples

THIS PAINTING was commissioned in 1638 along with other paintings requested from Ribera by Prior Pisante for the Certosa di San Martino. Payment was set at 50 ducats. This work and a *Saint Jerome*, now also in the Capodimonte, were intended for the private apartments of the prior. Although it is possible that they were begun sometime after 1638, they were not completed until after Ribera had recovered from the illness that had partially immobilized him beginning in 1643. They were not delivered until 1651.

NS

PROVENANCE

Certosa di San Martino, Naples (1651–1806); Pinacoteca del Museo Nazionale, Naples; Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples (from 1806).

EXHIBITIONS

Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 227–29, no. 38; Athens 1985, p. 24.

REFERENCES

Mayer 1908, p. 155; De Rinaldis 1928, no. 315, p. 265; Trapier 1952, pp. 225–27; Felton 1971, p. 319; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 203, pp. 123–24.

70 *The Penitent Saint Jerome*

Oil on canvas, 30⅞ × 28 in. (77 × 71 cm)

Signed: *Jusepe de Ribera español / . F. 1652*

Museo del Prado, Madrid; inv. no. 1098

THIS CANVAS is a superb example of Ribera's style during the last years of his life. Here we see the revival of an atmospheric treatment that can be defined as tenebrist, but that has all the freedom and extreme pictorialism characteristic of the works of Ribera's final period.

This is probably the last image of Saint Jerome painted by Ribera, and perhaps it

is also the most sober and intense. He has almost completely eliminated the traditional attributes (books, skull, lion, cardinal's hat, and so forth), concentrating all the expressive quality in the impassioned face and the powerful, tense hands that hold the cross and the stone with which he beats his breast.

In the loose, rapid, and short brushstrokes with which the face and body of the saint are modeled, this extraordinary effigy can be compared with the *Communion of the Apostles* (fig. 16), signed 1651, and with the *Saint Paul the Hermit*, formerly in Ragusa, which was apparently painted the same year as this *Saint Jerome*, 1652. Without rejecting a use of light that is clearly derived from Caravaggio's work of the early years of the



century, Ribera here creates a vivid image, pervaded with Venetian luminosity.

AEPS

PROVENANCE

Royal Collections of Spain; Isabella Farnese, Palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso (1747–after 1774); Museo del Prado (from 1818).

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1987–88, no. 23; Mexico 1989–90.

REFERENCES

Catalogues of the Museo del Prado 1854–58, no. 269; idem 1872–1907, no. 996; idem 1910–85, no. 1098; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 5, p. 193; Mayer 1923, p. 198; Tormo y Monzó 1922/23, fig. 48; Lafuente Ferrari 1946, p. 135; Pantorba 1946, pp. 23, 26; Ponz 1947, p. 895; Trapier 1952, p. 227, fig. 150; Felton 1971, no. A.115, p. 330; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 208; Camón Aznar 1978, p. 125.

Addendum

Landscape with a Fort

Oil on canvas, 50 × 106 in. (127 × 269 cm)
Signed and dated: *Jusepe de Ribera / F. 1639*
Propiedad de los Excmos. Sres. Duques de Alba, Palacio de Monterrey, Salamanca

Landscape with Shepherds

Oil on canvas, 50½ × 106 in. (128 × 269 cm)
Propiedad de los Excmos. Sres. Duques de Alba, Palacio de Monterrey, Salamanca

THESE TWO large canvases are among the most important recent additions to our knowledge of Ribera. There are literary as well as documentary references to Ribera's exceptional stature as a landscape painter, but, until the appearance of these two works, our knowledge of this aspect of his activity was limited to the backgrounds of such pic-

tures as *The Immaculate Conception* (fig. 17) and the *Assumption of Mary Magdalen* (cat. 32) of 1635–36. These landscapes, painted in 1639, assure Ribera a principal place in the history of Neapolitan landscape painting.

In 1639 Ribera was at the peak of his creative powers, his art having achieved a remarkable equilibrium and sureness. Indeed, the years 1634–44 may be termed his prodigious decade. It was a time when, in full possession of his powers, Ribera was in touch with the most novel currents in Italian art. During this time of economic security, his workshop was filled with pupils, collaborators, and copyists. The neo-Venetian movement was at its peak in Rome. Castiglione visited Naples in 1635; Domenichino returned in 1636, remaining there until his death in 1641. Moreover, Naples was ruled by viceroys who lent their strong support to the arts: Monterrey (1631–37) and Medina de las Torres (1637–44), who was familiar with the Roman milieu.

In these landscapes Ribera expresses himself in a naturalistic key quite different from that of the Roman circle of Claude Lorraine, who at this time was painting important works for the Buen Retiro in Madrid. Claude's concern for atmosphere gives way to Ribera's interest in monumentality in the severe tradition of Annibale Carracci and Domenichino. The importance of the rock formations and solidly constructed tree trunks (a feature of the *Dream of Jacob*; cat. 54), as well as the treatment of the clouds, confers a classical severity, endowed, however, with a lyrical quality through the suggestion of a golden or silvery light. That light is Ribera's response to the neo-Venetian current in Roman art.

The sites Ribera depicts cannot be identified, for he has poetically transposed any concrete references. Nonetheless, as in the backgrounds of *The Immaculate Conception*, the *Assumption of Mary Magdalen*, or the *Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria*, there is an evocation of the Neapolitan countryside.

Just as the fishermen appearing in the *Landscape with a Fort* are a motif in early landscape painting and have analogies in the work of Annibale Carracci and Domenichino, so the idyllic group of shepherds is a theme in the landscapes of Claude and his teacher Agostino Tassi. Yet Ribera has given the landscapes his own stamp: even without the signature they would be recognizable as his.

The pictures are first mentioned in 1755 among the possessions of the countess of Miranda and duchess of Peñarada. They entered the Alba collection in 1844. There is the possibility that they belonged to the count of Monterrey, even though they were painted a year after he left Naples. The duchess of Monterrey, who died in 1654, after her husband, made various bequests to family members, among whom was the duke of Peñarada and count of Miranda. It is not impossible that these landscapes were among those bequests.

AEPS

PROVENANCE

Countess of Miranda and duchess of Peñarada (by 1755); the Alba collection (from 1844).

EXHIBITIONS

Madrid 1985, nos. 112, 113.

REFERENCES

Demerson 1968, pp. 77–84; Pérez Sánchez, in Naples 1984, pp. 416–17; Madrid 1985, pp. 272–74.



Landscape with a Fort



Landscape with Shepherds



Fig. 26. Jusepe de Ribera, *Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria* (cat. 86)

Jusepe de Ribera as Printmaker

JONATHAN BROWN

JUSEPE DE RIBERA'S CAREER as a printmaker was as short in duration and output as it was long in achievement and importance. He began to make prints soon after his arrival in Naples in 1616, and by 1630 he had produced all but one of the eighteen etchings now attributed to him.¹ Ribera is best considered as an opportunistic etcher, not in the sense of his technique, which was fairly conventional, but by virtue of his use of the medium, which he exploited to advance his career and increase his reputation. The creation of prints must have occupied only a tiny fraction of his time in comparison with the efforts devoted to painting, his principal means of artistic expression. However, it was through etching that Ribera acquired a European reputation and inspired a legion of followers, some of whom may never have laid eyes on even one of his paintings.

Etching was the only graphic technique Ribera ever employed. By the time he began to make prints, etching had become the favored graphic medium of painters, who were attracted by its ease of execution compared with the more demanding techniques of engraving and woodcutting.² In its simplest form, etching involves drawing with a needle on a copperplate coated with a thin layer of wax. The coated plate is then immersed in an acid bath, which etches the design into the metal surface where the layer of wax has been scratched away. Some skill is demanded to control the biting process of the acid, but this could be learned quickly on a trial-and-error basis. The rich effects of vibrant light and deep shadow that characterize the efforts of the best etchers took more time to master.

Ribera's initial etchings—probably two small prints, each containing a single figure—are clearly the result of a typical beginner. Working on a tiny scale so as to minimize the technical problems, he did little more than scratch a simple but lively design on the plate. *Saint Sebastian* (see cat. 71) was one of the artist's favorite subjects, one that he repeated in paintings and drawings throughout his life.³ In the etched version, Ribera avoids his habitual foreshortenings and complex poses and gestures in order to maintain control of the process. The lines are full of energy and movement, while the shadows are

created by the simplest of expedients—thinly spaced parallel lines with minimal cross-hatching (a grid of lines that intersect at nearly right angles).

The other early print, *Saint Bernardino of Siena* (see cat. 72), is, if anything, cruder still.⁴ Its dimensions are almost exactly those of *Saint Sebastian*, but the composition is simpler, showing only a half-length figure in profile. The smudge in the upper left appears to be the result of false biting—that is to say, the acid has accidentally penetrated the layer of wax, damaging the plate.

After this unpromising start, Ribera decided to play for higher stakes. Although undated, *The Lamentation* (see cat. 87) was probably executed after *Saint Sebastian* and *Saint Bernardino of Siena*.⁵ The dimensions are larger, the composition is more complex, and the technique more accomplished, although still not as subtle as it was later to become. The glory of Ribera's mature prints is the carefully varied effects of light and shadow, obtained through a stippling technique consisting of tiny dots and short, springy lines, which impart a shimmering quality to the surface. Here, they make a timid appearance along the contours of Christ's thigh and torso, although elsewhere Ribera relies on thinly spaced parallel lines and cross-hatching to produce the shadows. Another sign of hesitancy is the ghostly ladder leaning against the cross. Having etched the ladder into the composition, Ribera changed his mind and tried to erase it. As he discovered, etched lines do not easily lend themselves to corrections, and thus his attempt to remove them from the scene was not successful.

Whatever the minor technical defects, *The Lamentation* is a significant print because it employs a composition used by the artist in his paintings. Ribera composed according to what might be called the theme-and-variation method, reordering a set scheme whenever a new version of the subject was required. His renditions of the Lamentation theme are centered on the supine body of Christ, which is splayed along the front plane of the picture. The cast of supporting players includes the grieving Virgin Mary, hands clasped in front of her face or breast; Saint John, who comforts her; and Saint Mary Magda-

len, who bends to kiss the Savior's feet. There are at least three paintings that utilize this scheme, including the beautiful *Pietà* executed in 1637 for the Certosa di San Martino, Naples (see fig. 13). While it may be that the print represents the earliest example of the subject, it is possible that it depends on a painting which is no longer extant. This latter suggestion derives from the fact that the majority of Ribera's etchings of figural compositions are variations of previously realized paintings.

As a matter of fact, the first dated print falls into this category. This is *Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment* (see cat. 74), which is signed with a monogram and the date 1621.⁶ A few years earlier, Ribera had painted the subject (see cat. 13) for the duke of Osuna, viceroy of Naples from 1610 to 1620, and this work is the point of departure for the print.⁷ Nevertheless, the differences between the two works are quite striking. In the painting, Saint Jerome lies on the ground and clutches a skull in his hands, having reacted with almost incredible alacrity to the angel, who admonishes him about neglecting prayer for his study. In the etching, the composition is altogether more plausible. The seated saint is shown absorbed in his writing when, suddenly, the desert silence is shattered by the blast of the trumpet. At the base of the improvised writing table, the penitential skull lies in readiness. The print, then, goes a long way toward heightening the clarity and impact of the story.

From a technical point of view, the print is less satisfactory. Two pairs of vertical lines run almost the entire height of the plate, the result of a severe incident of false biting. (Further evidence of the problem is seen along the upper margin.) Therefore, Ribera decided to make a new print of the same subject, although, as was his custom, he could not resist the temptation to tinker with the composition.

The second version (see cat. 75) is in every way superior to the first.⁸ Viewed simply as a technical performance, the differences are impressive, as Ribera begins to hit his stride as an etcher. Here, for the first time, he introduces his characteristic stipple effect, which is employed on the saint's body to produce subtle variations of shadow and to map the bony geography of the chest and stomach. By contrast, bold, sweeping strokes of the needle are used to define the rock behind the saint and to impart a pulsating rhythm to the background.

The visual excitement of the print is generated above all by the changes in composition. In the first version a simple horn timidly emerges in the upper right corner, while in the second, a full-bodied angel has materialized, blowing as hard as he can on a truly Baroque trumpet with an inordinately long, looped tube. In the earlier print, Saint Jerome casts an inquisitive

glance at the intrusive sound, whereas in this version he recoils in fear and surprise at the angelic blast and raises his arm involuntarily toward its source. Ribera painted this scene at least two more times (see cats. 15, 17), but he never surpassed the convincing, animated drama of this print.

Another of the Osuna paintings, *The Penitent Saint Peter*, was converted into a print in the same year, 1621 (see cat. 76), and once again the print surpasses the painting.⁹ By opening a luminous landscape behind the figure, Ribera relieves the cramped, somewhat uncomfortable effect of the Osuna picture. It is curious that this print and, indeed, all of those produced in the 1620s anticipate Ribera's evolution as a painter in the 1630s, when he abandoned the intense effects of chiaroscuro employed during the first half of his career in favor of a brighter palette and an even light. The very nature of the print medium, with its expanses of white paper, explains the prophetic quality of the etchings.

In 1622, having gained confidence in his mastery of etching, Ribera turned his attention from reproductive prints to a new endeavor. This was a drawing manual intended for the instruction of fledgling artists. A fascinating sheet, displaying nine ears shown in various positions and degrees of completion, is signed and dated in that year (see cat. 77).¹⁰ Although undated, two more sheets, one with eyes (see cat. 78) and the other with noses and mouths (see cat. 79), presumably were done at the same time. Instructional books had emerged as a pedagogical tool in the sixteenth century, their purpose being to provide an introductory course in artistic education.¹¹ Ribera's print, which bears the number 4 in reverse in the lower right corner, follows a format employed in drawing manuals published just a few years earlier by followers of the Carracci. The first is the work of Odoardo Fialetti, entitled *Il vero modo et ordine per disegnar tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano*, which was published in Venice in 1608 and, as the title promises, provides models for "drawing all the parts and members of the human body." Fialetti's motifs are set on the page in the serial order adopted by all who followed, including Ribera.

That said, there is an undeniable difference between Ribera's anatomical prints and virtually every other example produced in the seventeenth century. All pattern books but his are neither more nor less than academic exercises—clear and direct but ultimately and perhaps inevitably banal, like all rudimentary instruction. Ribera's drawings of the ear, eye, and nose and mouth are alive with expression and personality.¹² Thus, for example, while lacking eyes—the most telling facial feature—one particular image on the sheet of noses and mouths evokes a surprisingly complete impression of a person meditating or lost in thought. The "screaming" mouth, placed

incongruously but effectively alongside, evokes real pain and suffering, especially to those who know that the artist reused the motif in subsequent paintings of the Flaying of Marsyas (see cat. 41). As Apollo strips away his skin, the satyr, his very molars quivering with pain, shrieks in agony, duplicating the screaming mouth of the print.

In the end, Ribera completed only three sheets of his instructional manual, abandoning it for reasons that remain unknown. However, he did further extend his interest in physiognomy in two remarkable prints of grotesque heads, one of which is dated 1622 (see cats. 80, 81).¹³ It is possible that these strikingly deformed heads were inspired by people observed by the artist in daily life. Both are afflicted with a malady called von Recklinghausen's disease, the name given to the cause of large, benign growths in the area of the neck. Ribera's continuing interest in aberrations of nature would manifest itself some years later in that strangest of family portraits, *The Bearded Woman* (see cat. 25). However, *The Small Grotesque Head* (cat. 80) also evokes a stock character who frequently appears in Ribera's scenes of martyrdom. This is the Executioner, who is identified by the kerchief knotted around his head and by his coarse features. Occasionally, as in the prints, his face is marked by warts, blemishes understood to be a symbol of vice.¹⁴ The Executioner makes his debut in Ribera's long-running drama of Christian martyrdom in *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, painted for the duke of Osuna, and reappears in the many versions of this scene executed up to about 1640, including the print of this subject (see cat. 82). (After 1640, this theme largely disappears from Ribera's repertory.) The Executioner is depicted performing his dirty work in the martyrdoms of Christ (Santa María, Cogolludo), Saint Lawrence (the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City), Saint Andrew (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest; see cat. 20), and Saint Philip (Museo del Prado, Madrid; see cat. 56).

The two grotesque heads can also be connected to several of Ribera's drawings that confirm his lifelong interest in the aberrative aspects of the human species. Yet none of the paintings or drawings casts such a powerful, unrelenting gaze upon the deformed. By resisting the temptations of caricature and mockery, Ribera adopts the neutral stance of the illustrator of scientific treatises and texts.

In the following group of prints, Ribera returns to the high road of serious subjects. Four etchings, done between 1624 and 1628, represent the acme of Ribera's career as a printmaker. The first of these is *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (see cat. 82), signed and dated 1624 and carrying a dedication to a noble patron, Prince Philibert Emmanuel of Savoy.¹⁵ Prince Philibert was the nephew of Philip III of Spain and served the

Spanish crown with distinction as a soldier and statesman. He was appointed viceroy of Sicily in 1620 and therefore was potentially an important client. As luck would have it, he died prematurely at the age of thirty-six on August 4, 1624, thus making futile Ribera's bid for his favor.

During the 1620s, Ribera's renditions of the martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew achieved considerable popularity. This was, in fact, the theme that supposedly established Ribera's reputation in Naples. According to De Dominici, his first biographer, Ribera executed a painting of Saint Bartholomew's martyrdom for the duke of Osuna, who liked it so well that he appointed Ribera as his painter. At least two more versions have been dated to the period before 1620, and several more were executed between 1620 and 1640 (see cat. 19).

Saint Bartholomew, one of the twelve apostles, is mentioned by name in only three of the Gospels, and the story of his preaching in the eastern Mediterranean and subsequent martyrdom is apocryphal. In one of the legends of his life, he was put to death by King Astrages for converting his subjects. The method of execution was especially excruciating: the king ordered that Bartholomew be flayed alive. Ribera did not shrink from this subject, especially in the etching, which is the most explicit of all the versions.

In the print, Ribera employs the same elements used in the paintings. The saint fills the center stage, while the executioner, wearing the regulation kerchief around his head, either ties Bartholomew to a tree or strips away his skin. A group of onlookers fills the interstices of the composition, and the severed head of a pagan idol lies in the corner. Nevertheless, the etching offers a unique arrangement of the standard components, demonstrating yet again Ribera's rejection of rote repetition as an expedient solution for printmaking. In this version of the composition, the executioner goes about his grisly business with a surgeon's concentration, as if he were trying to save the saint's life instead of take it. Apparently he has encountered a troublesome ligament that requires him to use both hands to strip the skin from the bone, and he jams the knife in his mouth to allow him greater freedom of action.

This grisly event is depicted with the most delicate of techniques. Ribera is now in full control of a subtle, pictorial means of etching. Deep shadows are created by dense cross-hatching and overlaying of lines, while tiny dots and flecks of the needle produce the transparent tones of the saint's anatomy. With this print, Ribera achieves maturity as a printmaker.

Even more exquisite in technique is an undated print of *Saint Jerome Reading* (see cat. 83), a subject unprecedented in Ribera's oeuvre.¹⁶ The immediate source seems to be a painting by Caravaggio, now in the Galleria Borghese, Rome. How-

ever, in Caravaggio's work, as in virtually all representations of the subject, the saint rests on a rock or a bench. Ribera takes a novel approach by placing Saint Jerome on the ground, his back resting against a block of dressed stone. With legs drawn up to support his arms and his head buried in the text, Ribera's Saint Jerome becomes a perfect metaphor for scholarly absorption.

The technique of this print is miraculously transparent. Shadows are rendered by supple, parallel lines and minimal cross-hatching, which allows light to filter into even the darkest corners. Soft, almost silken lines define the head. The strokes used to depict the downy hair of the bald head are so delicate that they are visible only in the earliest impressions. Subtle tonal gradations are enhanced in early pulls by a thin gray film of ink left on the plate. Even the random marks of false biting in the sky (Ribera was never an overly meticulous craftsman) help to generate the warm, rich tonality that underscores the contemplative mood of this marvelous print.

From the idyllic, Ribera passed to the bacchic. In 1628, he created his greatest etching, the *Drunken Silenus* (see cat. 84).¹⁷ Of all the prints, this is the one that most closely follows a painting (see cat. 16), the earthy masterpiece executed in 1626 and eventually owned by Gaspar Roomer, a Flemish merchant resident in Naples. Although only two years had elapsed since making the painting, Ribera already saw ways to improve the composition. The central figures are preserved intact, but the setting is opened up by adopting a higher vantage point and by including more of the background and sky. The adolescent satyr at the left is replaced by a pair of tiptling baby satyrs at the right, while the heads of two maenads, crammed into the upper right corner, are eliminated in favor of a satyr and a maenad, who fit comfortably into the left corner of the print. Finally, the ass, which mocks the fat, besotted Silenus, is given its own space, and its braying head is silhouetted against the open sky.

In the *Drunken Silenus*, Ribera exhibits his extraordinary ability to simulate textures of every kind. The thick, bristly hair of the satyrs is contrasted to the large, smooth expanse of Silenus's distended belly. The grainy verisimilitude of the wooden vat is astounding, and limpid atmospheric effects are achieved in the partial landscape, where a jagged tree trunk dissolves in the bright, clear light.

Two more secular subjects round out Ribera's production of figural etchings in the 1620s. One is *Cupid Whipping a Satyr* (see cat. 88), which seems to have been done early in the decade.¹⁸ The satyr in this print is executed in a technique that is rudimentary if compared with that used for his colleagues in the *Drunken Silenus*. More impressive is *The Poet* (see

cat. 73),¹⁹ also undated, which appears to have been done about the same time as *The Penitent Saint Peter* (see cat. 76).

Attempts have been made to identify Ribera's *Poet* with a specific person—Dante and Virgil have been suggested—but there are no attributes that point to the name of any poet in particular. Rather, Ribera seems to have been inventing an emblem of poetry. His symbolism is conventional enough. The laurel wreath and the melancholic pose, head resting on hand, were frequently associated with the poet. Ribera's achievement lies in turning these symbols into a monumental expression of the brooding, creative powers of melancholy. Ribera's poet is swaddled in a ponderous, heavy robe, folded into pockets of dark shadow, which seems to weigh him down. He rests an elbow on a chiseled block of ancient stone, cracked into two unequal parts by time, if not by the weight of his thoughts. The jagged tree, a stage property often used by the artist, provides a spiky foil to the moody quality of the composition. The poet, his face "o'erlaid with black," seeks inspiration in depths of feeling that few ever experience.

As the 1620s drew to a close, so did Ribera's interest in etching. Only two plates were created after 1630, the first of which is a highly uncharacteristic work. This is the coat of arms of the marquess of Tarifa (see cat. 85),²⁰ the son of the duke of Alcalá, one of the artist's principal patrons. The print is datable by the heraldic cross with looped finials that protrude from each of the four sides of the escutcheon. The cross is the symbol of the knightly Order of Alcántara, into which Tarifa was admitted in 1629. He died only four years later, in 1633, thus establishing the latest possible date for the execution of the print.

Ribera's contribution to the print is limited to the three putti who support the crown. They were executed in the etching technique and reproduce a group of putti in the artist's painting *Trinitas Terrestis, Saint Bruno, and Other Monastic Saints* (see fig. 6), done in the early 1630s. As for the coat of arms and its elaborate decorative frame, this is executed in engraving—a technique never employed by Ribera—and is certainly the work of a collaborator who specialized in the medium.

Almost twenty years would pass before Ribera made another etching, and then only under extraordinary circumstances. In 1647, the populace of Naples revolted against the authority of the Spanish crown. They were led by a peasant whose name was given to the uprising, which came to be called the Revolt of Masaniello. After an initial failure by the viceroy to subdue the rebels, the king sent his illegitimate son, Juan of Austria, to take charge of the situation. The prince arrived in Naples in October 1647 and soon quelled the disturbance. He re-

mained in Naples for almost a year, departing in September 1648, the year in which Ribera executed and dated the *Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria* (see cat. 86), his final print.²¹

Behind the print, not surprisingly, is a painting, Ribera's most ambitious portrait. And, as is only to be expected, the print plays out its variations with respect to the source. The change involves the landscape, and a major change it is. In the painting, the landscape is idealized and thus removed from any geographic or historical reference. However, in the print there is a sketchy but easily identifiable vista of the bay and city of Naples. A fleet of Spanish ships lies at anchor, and small craft carry ashore the troops who are being sent to subdue the rebels. The print, therefore, explicitly commemorates the important military victory obtained by the dashing young commander on his rearing steed.

As a technical performance, this sheet is remarkable. Although nearly twenty years had passed since Ribera's previous print, the master had not lost his touch. In fact, the range of effects is extraordinary, from the steely hardness of the armored breastplate, to the firm, dappled coat of the horse, to the clear, panoramic cityscape. The lines are confident and crisp, suggesting that the artist had fully overcome the serious illness that four years before had curtailed his ability to paint.

With this masterpiece, Ribera's curious career as an etcher comes to a close. The word "curious" is used advisedly, because Ribera's output was small and restricted to a short period of his career, although he clearly became a master of the medium. These circumstances, in addition to his sometimes careless approach to the craft, suggest that Ribera, unlike his contemporary Rembrandt, did not love etching for its own sake. Why, then, did he practice the technique at all?

In the absence of any direct evidence, the answers to this question can only be conjectural, although the clues all seem to point in one direction. Of Ribera's sixteen major prints (omitting *Saint Sebastian* and *Saint Bernardino of Siena*), seven may be categorized as reproductive. Another three, the drawing sheets, had a pedagogical purpose. In other words, these ten prints were designed to advertise Ribera's artistry to a wide public. This had been a traditional and commonplace function of prints since their invention in the sixteenth century, and it was to endure until prints were displaced by the widespread use of commercial photography in the twentieth century. Ribera, like every other reproductive printmaker, was seeking to expand his patronage and reputation.

It is probably no coincidence that Ribera apparently did not begin to make prints until after settling in Naples in 1616. Naples, as a Spanish territory, offered obvious advantages to a superb Italo-Spanish artist, and Ribera's gambit in moving

there never stopped paying dividends, as he was patronized by a succession of no fewer than eleven viceroys. However, Naples, despite its long and honorable artistic tradition, was a provincial city, at least in comparison with Rome, where Ribera spent the years immediately before moving south. Rome, with its papal court and prelates, its ambassadors and aristocrats, overshadowed every other Italian city, a fact that could not have been lost on Ribera. Thus, he seized upon the print, cheap and portable as it was, to help him overcome the limitations of geography and spare him oblivion in the wider world of artistic culture.

By 1630, Ribera seems to have satisfied these ambitions, and he thus put his etcher's needle back into its case. Yet his prints, then beginning to circulate widely, continued to capture the imagination of artists and attract the admiration of connoisseurs.

The impressions pulled by Ribera himself were highly prized, to be sure, but they are only part of the story. During the artist's lifetime, the copperplates began to leave Ribera's studio (a process continued by his heirs) and were acquired by print publishers, who retouched and reissued them until they were worn out.²² The first of the plates to leave Naples was the *Drunken Silenus*, which came into the hands of a certain Giovanni Orlandi in Rome, who added a dedication to Giuseppe Balsamo, baron of Cattasi (Sicily), and ran off more impressions. By 1649, the plate had been bought by Giovanni Giacomo Rossi, a famous Roman publisher, who added his name to the print and manufactured a series of shopworn impressions. Pope Clement XII purchased the stock of the Rossi firm in 1738. It eventually was incorporated into the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome, which still owns the plate.

As many as seven plates eventually were acquired by Frans van Wyngaerde (1614–1679), an Antwerp engraver and publisher, who used them without mercy. The three drawing exercises were cut in half and printed until they were all but white. Although the plates of the two grotesque heads and *Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet* (cat. 75) stayed in one piece, they also were exhausted through overuse. The strangest of fates befell the *Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria*, which became the possession of a publisher in Antwerp who called himself Gaspar de Hollander. In 1670, he reworked the face and then reissued the print with a new identity, King Charles II of Spain.

The next phase in the exploitation of Ribera's etchings involved copies, often published in the format of small bound folios, the earliest of which was produced while the artist was still alive.²³ In the 1640s, the Parisian print publisher Nicolas Langlois commissioned Louis Elle to produce a collection of twenty-two etchings, reproducing both entire compositions and



Fig. 27. Jacques-Louis David, *The Vision of Saint Jerome*. Quebec Cathedral



Fig. 28. Guercino, *Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment*. Church of San Girolamo, Rimini

individual motifs from several prints incorporated onto one plate. This collection was then acquired by Pierre Mariette I, the founder of a famous dynasty of collectors and connoisseurs, who republished it in 1650. A second edition of twenty-four plates was brought out by Mariette in the same year. Thus was initiated a vogue for collections of copies of the prints, which at last brought to fruition Ribera's thwarted plan for a drawing manual. The latest of at least six such collections was published in Spain in 1774, by which time Ribera's sixteen major prints had been etched into the consciousness of several generations of European artists.

Beyond question, the most imitated prints were the two versions of *Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment*, with *The Penitent Saint Peter*, *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, and *The Poet* occupying the next places.²⁴ In fact, the *Saint Jerome* with the angel was found to be adaptable for the representation of almost any hermit saint in the wilderness. The key to its appeal resides in the theatrical gesture of the outflung

arm, which became a hieroglyph for the appearance of a divine revelation. A version of the theme by Guercino, executed in 1641 (fig. 28), appropriates with minor variations all the elements of Ribera's composition. By the later seventeenth century, however, it was no longer thought necessary to include the angel, whose presence presumably was supplied by the memory of viewers already familiar with the print.

Before long, Ribera's Saint Jerome was serving the cause of other holy cults. Pier Francesco Mola turned him into Saint Bruno (1660s); Mattia Preti made him into Saint Paul the Hermit (1660s); and Antonio de Pereda converted him into Saint Peter (1650s). As late as 1780, Ribera's Saint Jerome was still considered the nonpareil of the type. In that year, the French Neoclassicist Jacques-Louis David automatically reached for a print of Ribera's etching, changing only the musculature to bring the saint into conformity with his new aesthetic (fig. 27).²⁵

The prints, then, made Ribera famous, and, quite unexpectedly, they almost made him notorious. This paradox arose

from the limited thematic repertory. Among the sixteen major prints, four depict elderly penitents; two, grotesque, deformed types; and one, an excruciating martyrdom. Accordingly, Ribera gradually acquired the reputation of a naturalist artist who specialized in the aged, the deformed, and the mutilated. The German writer Joachim Sandrart, writing in 1675, was the first to draw attention to Ribera's supposed penchant for unflinching representation of these subjects, but it was Ribera's countryman, the painter Antonio Palomino, who provided the canonical text:

Ribera did not enjoy painting sweet and devout subjects as much as he liked expressing horrifying and harsh things, such as the bodies of old men: dry, wrinkled, and lean, with gaunt and withered faces, everything done accurately after the model with extraordinary skill, vigor, and elegant technique. This is manifested by the Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew, in which he is being flayed and the internal anatomy of the arm is exposed.²⁶

It is only in the last twenty years that this stereotype has been questioned and the many subtleties of Ribera's art have again become appreciated. Ribera's passing interest in printmaking had a more lasting effect on his reputation than he could ever have wished.

1. This essay is based on my previous studies of Ribera's prints, referred to herein as Brown 1973 and Brown 1989. I have cited the later, revised edition in my notes, although the numeration is identical with that of the earlier catalogue.

2. For an explanation of the technique of etching and a survey of its development in Italy, see Reed and Wallace 1989, pp. XIX–XXXI.
3. Brown 1989, no. 1. For Ribera's depictions of Saint Sebastian, see Brown 1972, pp. 2–7.
4. Brown 1989, no. 2.
5. Brown 1989, no. 17.
6. Brown 1989, no. 4.
7. See Pérez Sánchez 1978.
8. Brown 1989, no. 5.
9. Brown 1989, no. 6.
10. Brown 1989, no. 7.
11. See Gombrich 1969, pp. 156–72, for a discussion of printed instructional manuals in the early seventeenth century.
12. Brown 1989, nos. 8, 9.
13. Brown 1989, nos. 10, 11.
14. See Konečný 1980, p. 92.
15. Brown 1989, no. 12.
16. Brown 1989, no. 13. As pointed out by Peter Dryer (1990, pp. 180–81), the state that I identified as a proof is a composite image in which the inscription of no. 12 has been pasted onto the lower margin of no. 13.
17. Brown 1989, no. 14.
18. Brown 1989, no. 18.
19. Brown 1989, no. 3.
20. Brown 1989, no. 15.
21. Brown 1989, no. 16.
22. For further details on this phenomenon, see Brown 1973, pp. 41–61, and Brown 1989, pp. 38–40, and the relevant catalogue entries.
23. For the following, see Brown 1989, nos. 30–37.
24. See Brown 1989, pp. 40–49.
25. For further discussion of the painting by David and its relationship to Ribera, see Bédard 1990, pp. 40–45.
26. Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1987, p. 123.

71 *Saint Sebastian*

Etching, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ in. (89 × 70 mm)

Only state

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

SCHOLARS DATE this rare etching—generally considered the first print by Ribera—to about 1620. However, the origins of Ribera's activity as a printmaker remain unclear, since the only contemporary source to mention his initial efforts seems to have erred in his information. In a letter of 1635, Ribera's patron, the duke of Alcalá, wrote that the artist had learned to etch in Rome at the time the duke arrived there, in 1625.¹ This cannot be true, because prints by Ribera are dated 1621, but perhaps Ribera did learn to etch in Rome, where he lived until 1616 and where there was more activity in printmaking than there was in Naples.² Although the *Saint Sebastian* could be from so early a date, it is more likely that it immediately precedes the first dated prints. In its scratchy, calligraphic line it resembles—albeit awkwardly—pen-and-ink drawings of about 1620, such as the *Saint Sebastian* at the Ashmolean Mu-

seum in Oxford (cat. 91), which Jonathan Brown considers one of the earliest of Ribera's graphic works.³ Here, there is little of the controlled overlay of hatched lines that give Ribera's later etchings their strongly three-dimensional character. Indeed, the nervous, rapid line seems to anticipate the effect found in such drawings of the late 1620s as the *Saint Sebastian* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. 97) and the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* in the British Museum.⁴

AB

1. Saltillo 1940–41, pp. 246–47.

2. Brown 1973, p. 9, n. 2; May 1616 is the latest we can document Ribera in Rome (see Documentary Appendix).

3. Brown 1973, no. 6, p. 157.

4. For the latter, see Brown 1973, no. 8, p. 159, and pl. 35, p. 186.

REFERENCES

Bartsch 2; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 104, no. 2; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 7; Mayer 1908, p. 57; Brown 1973, no. 1; Brown, in Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 70; Brown 1989, no. 1.



72 *Saint Bernardino of Siena*

Etching, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ in. (89 × 72 mm)

Only state

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

THIS ETCHING, the unique impression of which belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale, was attributed to Ribera by Jonathan Brown in 1973.¹ By comparing it with the *Saint Sebastian* (see cat. 71), Brown dated it about 1620. The attribution has been generally well received; Brown presented it again in an exhibition of 1989.² Although unambitious, this forcefully drawn bust-length figure is closely comparable to Ribera's drawings of the 1620s. The satisfying, abbreviated dome of the head has been characterized as a hallmark of the figural style of Ribera's pen drawings.³ Furthermore, the knobby hands and, indeed, the character of the silhouette of the whole resemble those of the so-called *Orator* at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco (cat. 102).⁴ Thus, Ribera's first experiments in printmaking seem an extension of his drawings and do not directly reflect earlier prints he might have known by other artists.



The Sienese Saint Bernardino, a rather unusual subject in the context of early seventeenth-century Naples, appears also in Ribera's great altarpiece the *Trinitas Terrestris*, *Saint Bruno*, and *Other Monastic Saints* (fig. 6). AB

1. Brown 1973, no. 2, p. 66.
2. For example, O. Ferrari (1975, p. 174), in a review of the 1973 exhibition, calls it "chiaramente compagno del già noto *S. Sebastiano*," but P. Bellini (1975, p. 19) found it a less convincing attribution. See now Brown 1989, no. 2, pp. 58, 99.
3. Brown 1974, p. 368.
4. Brown 1973, no. 16, p. 164, and pl. 43, p. 194.

REFERENCES

Brown 1973, no. 2; Bellini 1975, p. 19; Ferrari 1975, p. 174; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 70; Brown 1989, no. 2.

73 *The Poet*

Etching, 6⅞ × 4⅞ in. (162 × 125 mm)

Only state

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1930

30.54.69

RIBERA'S *Poet*, dressed in voluminous robes, crowned with laurel, and leaning on a stone with head in hand, is one of the most striking images of the artist's early career. Although Ribera painted numerous isolated figures of philosophers, this moody portrayal of a writer stands apart. The image is particularly compelling in early impressions, such as this, which is printed with tone on a grayish white paper, accentuating the folds of the robe and the deep shadows around the face. The iconography, a synthesis of the attributes of Melancholy and Poetry, has been explored in detail by scholars, who have found literary parallels ranging from verses by Walther von der Vogelweide (1170?–1230) to works by Petrarch and Lorenzo de' Medici.¹ In one of his *Rime* (103), Lorenzo says, "Io mi sto spesso sopra un duro sasso / e fo col braccio alla guancia sostegno" (I often lean on a hard rock / and



support my cheek on my arm).² A visual parallel can be found as early as the 1470s or 1480s in the portrait medal of the poet Vespasiano Strozzi by Sperandio.³ On the obverse, Strozzi sits, head in hand, at the foot of a laurel tree that is partially withered and partially in bloom.

Attempts to identify the poet as a specific historical figure have not been convincing.⁴ In the earliest analysis of the print, Wolfgang Stechow tentatively suggested that the allusion is to Petrarch because of the connection between his Laura and the laurel tree and because he wrote so movingly of

his own melancholy.⁵ Immediately before entering Rome to be crowned poet laureate in April 1341, Petrarch went to Naples and was examined on the subject of poetry by King Robert. Thus, the laurel crown and Naples are linked historically, which may have been an impetus behind Ribera's work. However, all poets are shown crowned with laurel leaves, and a reference to melancholy is scarcely limited to Petrarch.

An alternative suggestion that the poet is Virgil initially seems a viable one, especially as his tomb was traditionally thought to be in Naples. Generally identified with

a columbarium, or dovecote mausoleum, above the "Grotto," or tunnel, of Posilipo, this purported burial place of the famous poet was a tourist attraction beginning at least in the sixteenth century.⁶ A well-known legend had it that on top of the tomb grew a bay tree that continued to blossom over the centuries while its roots forced their way through the stone, causing fissures to appear.⁷ Giulio Cesare Capaccio, whose *Neapolitanae historiae* of 1607 lists the tomb as one of the great treasures of Naples, mentions an anonymous inscription stressing its ruinous quality: "Ravaged the tomb and broken the urns. Nothing remains and yet the poet's name exalts the place."⁸ This imagery seems relevant to the tree and cracked masonry in the *Poet*. However, the identification of Ribera's poet with Virgil founders on the very appearance of the so-called tomb itself, a circular structure of rough brickwork set above the Grotto, which was constructed in antiquity. Beginning with engravings of the sixteenth century, numerous representations reproduce it clearly, and it is likely that an artist wishing to allude to it would reproduce either its distinctive shape or its brickwork.⁹

Most recently the subject of the *Poet* has been identified with Dante, specifically with canto 32 of the *Purgatorio*. In this passage, set in Earthly Paradise, new shoots grow from a dead tree when the griffin ties the pole of what is interpreted as the triumphal chariot of Christ to its trunk. The numerous allegorical meanings of this pole and of the tree as the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge have led to an interpretation of the half-withered, half-blossoming tree in the Ribera print "as a prefigurative symbol of the Passion of Christ" and of the cross of the Crucifixion.¹⁰ Other imagery concerning Dante is brought into the argument: Boccaccio's metaphorical description of Dante as the "sightless" poet, in reference to the shaded eyes of Ribera's figure, and Dante's account of the tremor that ran through the earth at Christ's death

as made visible in the crack through the block.¹¹

But is it likely that this is a representation of Dante? A comparison with the depiction of the poet in Raphael's *Parnassus* in the Stanza della Segnatura, the Vatican, suggests how atypical Ribera's interpretation would be, for it lacks the distinctive long nose, sharply undercut chin, and thin body type.¹² The fact that the same partially withered, partially blossoming tree appears in the Sperandio medal implies that its significance went beyond its association with Dante or Virgil. Indeed, Cesare Ripa's representation of *Arte* (12) includes a dead tree covered with growing ivy, which closely resembles not only that found in Ribera's *Poet* but also that in the painting *Apollo and Marsyas* (see cat. 41), with its theme of rivalry in art.¹³

The pose of the figure is derived from that of Heracleitus in Raphael's *School of Athens*, in the Stanza della Segnatura. Richard Wallace has suggested further that the block on which Heracleitus and this poet lean may be the "cube of reason" (in contrast to the "sphere of fortune" by Andrea Alciati in his emblem *Ars naturam adiuvans*) and that the great crack in the masonry block in the etching may be a subtle *vanitas* symbol.¹⁴

AB

1. Stechow 1957, pp. 69–72; Palm 1975, pp. 23–27; Moffitt 1978, pp. 75–89.
2. Lorenzo de' Medici 1913–14, vol. 1, p. 227.
3. Hill 1984, vol. 2, pl. 73, no. 394.
4. Brown (1989, no. 3, pp. 60, 100) dismisses the interpretations of Palm and Moffitt, cited above in n. 1.
5. Stechow 1957, pp. 71–72.
6. Trapp 1984, pp. 1–31.
7. Palm 1975, p. 25.
8. As translated by Trapp 1984, p. 17; Palm 1975, p. 25.
9. As early as 1574 there was a fairly accurate engraving in Tobias Fendt's *Monumenta* . . . , for which see Trapp 1984, pl. 3C. Nor do the facial features of this poet resemble the more than forty antique busts said to portray Virgil: see McKay 1970, p. 190, fig. 45.
10. Moffitt 1978, p. 81.
11. Moffitt 1978, p. 82.

12. Moffitt (1978, pp. 83–84) suggests just this visual connection, but it is precisely the immediately recognizable facial features of Dante in the *Parnassus* that are contrary to what we see in the Ribera print. Nor is it clear that this poet is wearing Dante's characteristic scholar's cap with ear flaps, as Moffitt (1978, p. 83) suggests, and as already dismissed by Brown (1989, pp. 60, 100).
13. For *Arte*, see Ripa 1970, pp. 27–28.
14. Reed and Wallace 1989, p. 281; Alciati 1976, p. 414.

REFERENCES

- Bartsch 10; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 105, no. 10; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 11; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 7; Woermann 1890, p. 150; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, p. 57; Trappier 1952, pp. 29–30; Stechow 1957, pp. 69–72; Brown 1973, no. 3; Palm 1975, pp. 23–27; D'Amico 1978, no. 95; Moffitt 1978, pp. 75–90; Sophor and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 155; Rome 1981, no. 29; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 72; Brown 1989, no. 3; Reed and Wallace 1989, no. 147.

74 Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment

Etching with drypoint and engraving, 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (328 × 243 mm)

Signed (with a monogram) and dated 1621
Only state

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953 53.512.5

THIS IS ALMOST CERTAINLY the first of Ribera's two etchings depicting Saint Jerome in the wilderness, interrupted by the sound of a trumpet. Its date — 1621 — indicates that it postdates the painting of the same subject sent to the Colegiata in Osuna. The five paintings by Ribera in Osuna were critical early commissions received soon after the artist settled in Naples (see cat. 13). Four are depictions of saints; of these, we know that three had been painted about 1617 for Don Pedro Téllez Girón, the grand duke of Osuna and viceroy of Naples, as they are mentioned as complete in a letter



of January 1618 that concerns the fifth painting, the great *Crucifixion* (cat. 14) commissioned by the duchess of Osuna that year.¹ Although the etching relates to the painting, the disparities are numerous. In the print the saint is shown seated and sharpening his pen rather than reclining and contemplating a skull, and the angel is suggested only by hands that emerge from clouds, clasp the trumpet. Such varia-

tions are typical of Ribera, who characteristically used printmaking to experiment with compositions that had already appeared in paint as well as to disseminate his images to a wider public (see Jonathan Brown's essay).

The subject of this print requires some clarification. It has recently been suggested that Jerome hears the trumpet evoked in the prophet Amos's warning against idola-

try (interpreted in Augustinian terms as an attachment to worldly things) rather than that which will produce the clamor of the Last Judgment.² Amos used the metaphor of the sound of the trumpet twice in passages relating to punishment of the wicked (Amos 2:2, 3:6), and Jerome analyzed his words at length (*Commentariorum in Amos*). Jerome also referred to the trumpet in an epistle (Epist. 66:10): "Whether you are reading or writing, whether awake or asleep, may [the prophet] Amos always sound his trumpet in your ears, may his horn arouse your soul."³ This passage in turn would have been well known to contemporaries via the *Regula monachorum S. Hieronymi*, a compilation of quotations from Jerome for an offshoot of the Spanish Hieronymites founded by Lope de Olmedo (d. 1433)—an order boasting seventeen houses in Italy by the end of the sixteenth century.⁴

Without denying other allusions, the trumpet's clamor was seen by both Jerome and his interpreters primarily as an announcement of the Day of Judgment rather than as an admonition against idolatry, and it was subsumed into the larger body of eschatological imagery.⁵ A version of a brief fourteenth-century statement extracted from a longer text entitled "The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday," supposedly discovered by Jerome, returns to the imagery of the trumpet, clearly within an eschatological context: "Whether I am drinking or eating or sleeping or doing anything else at all, I seem to hear that terrifying trumpet resound in my ears, saying, Arise ye dead and come to judgment." According to Eugene Rice, this text, which conflates lines from Jerome's writings, including the epistle referring to Amos, is the basis of all the numerous representations of Saint Jerome and the trumpet of the Last Judgment, which began to appear about 1400.⁶ The trumpet became so closely associated with the Last Judgment that a 1614 commentary on Saint Paul's epistles includes a lengthy description of the *tuba* (trumpet), which, it says,

might be of a material unknown to man but would produce a not-immaterial sound, indeed, would produce a sound only just enduring by the senses.⁷

The disturbing lines that run across the print indicate either that the plate was abraded or that foul biting occurred during the etching process. In fine impressions, such as this, the lines print quite strongly. The artist left a good deal of ink on the plate, with the result that a film of tone imitating the appearance of dark clouds is printed across the emerging hands of the angel. Brown has pointed out that the monogram, which appears on many of the etchings, stands for "Ribera Hispanus."⁸ AB

1. Finaldi 1991, pp. 445–46, n. 12.
2. Del Bravo 1988, pp. 169, 186–87, nn. 15–18, referring to Jérôme's commentary on Amos in *Patrologia latina*, vol. 25, col. 992 (the trumpet is

mentioned in other passages as well; see cols. 1003 and 1015).

3. As translated by E. Rice (1985, p. 255, n. 62).
4. Rice 1985, p. 71.
5. Indeed, in the *Regula monachorum*, the passage referring to Amos and the trumpet appears in chapter 23, "De timore ultimi judicii . . .," in *Patrologia latina*, vol. 30, col. 375.
6. Translation by Rice (1985, pp. 161–62, 255, n. 62).
7. Rice 1985, p. 172.
8. Brown 1973, no. 4, p. 67.

REFERENCES

Bartsch 5; De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 17; Nagler 1843, vol. 13, p. 104, no. 5; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 5; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 4; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, pp. 38–40; Trapier 1952, p. 24; Brown 1973, no. 4; Felton 1976, pp. 38–39; D'Amico 1978, no. 92; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 132; Rome 1981, no. 30; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 71; Brown 1989, no. 4; Reed and Wallace 1989, no. 148.

75 *Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment*

Etching with engraving
Signed with a monogram
I/V

12⅜ × 9¼ in. (315 × 236 mm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Junius S. Morgan, 1919

19.52.15

I/V

13⅛ × 9⅞ in. (335 × 252 mm) (sheet)

Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Katherine E. Bullard Fund in Memory of Francis Bullard 1990.602

Not illustrated

JONATHAN BROWN has convincingly argued that this image must have followed

75



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the print of Saint Jerome dated 1621.¹ The artist's concern for the unity of the perspectival scheme extends even to the monogram, and the saint sits in a space that is better defined, with the etched background lines contributing more purposefully to its definition. The angel has an enhanced impact by appearing in his entirety within the composition. Indeed, the number of painted copies of this etching attests to its great success as a dramatic image (see Jonathan Brown's essay). Jerome is again depicted as scholar, penitent, and witness to the Last Judgment; having first shown the trumpet as a long, straight *lituus*, Ribera here has the annunciatory blast come from a curved *bucina*. Both terms for the instrument were used by Jerome.²

Both impressions exhibited here are of the first state, before the plate was purchased by the Antwerp publisher Frans van Wyngaerde (1617–1679), who added his initials below the lower borderline and otherwise reworked the plate. Each is a very fine impression. The contrast between them suggests the variations that Ribera could achieve through printing. One is printed on a thin, whitish paper with strong contrasts and great clarity despite the inkiness in such areas as the foliage. In the other impression the artist has, instead, left tone on the plate throughout, decreasing the contrast and relief and producing a warm, rich effect. So much ink was left on the plate that there are black smudges all along the plate mark. Later, when van Wyngaerde bought the plate, which was beginning to wear, he reinforced some lines with engraving to enable continued printing. AB

1. Brown 1973, pp. 11–12; also Trapier 1952, pp. 24–26.

2. Rice 1985, p. 255, n. 62.

REFERENCES

Bartsch 4; De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 17; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 104, no. 4; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 4; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 3; Wessely 1882, p. 54, no. 2; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Mayer 1908, pp. 41–42; Trapier 1952, pp. 24–26; Brown 1973, no. 5; Felton 1976, pp. 38–39;

D'Amico 1978, no. 91; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, pp. 96, 132; Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 156; Rome 1981, no. 31; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 73; Brown 1989, no. 5; Reed and Wallace 1989, no. 149.

76 *The Penitent Saint Peter*

Etching with some engraving, 12¼ × 9¼ in. (324 × 248 mm) (sheet)

Signed (with a monogram) and dated 1621 I/III

Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;
Gift of William Norton Bullard 23.1019

THIS ETCHING bears the same date as the first composition of *Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet* (see cat. 74), whereas its monogram is in the pointedly perspectival arrangement of the second. Like the dated *Saint Jerome*, the *Saint Peter* corresponds to one of the paintings by Ribera in the Colegiata of Osuna, for which there is also a related drawing in the same direction as the print (private collection, Paris).¹ There are subtle variations between the Saint Peter images: above all, Ribera changed the disposition of the saint's legs and the fall of his robe and offered two different landscape backgrounds. The print succeeded the painting in date, suggesting again that the etchings were meant to disseminate knowledge of Ribera's art, in this case one of his first great commissions in Naples, which, significantly, was for the Spanish viceroy.

The portrayal of Saint Peter doing penance in the wild is one of a number of early subjects in which Ribera presents sacred figures casting off all worldly things. For the apostle, this act of renunciation occurred in response to Christ's preaching the necessity of abandoning all possessions, to which Peter replied, "Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee" (Matt.

19:27). It is possible that Ribera was attracted to such concepts because of his own notorious problems with "worldly" life. Giulio Mancini, a contemporary who wrote about the Roman art scene, described Ribera's profligate life-style, saying that because "he spent much more than he earned, he was forced and compelled through debt to leave Rome."² However, in the case of the Osuna commission, the subject was almost certainly chosen by the patron and probably was meant as a parallel to the depiction of Saint Jerome in penitence. AB

1. For a juxtaposition of all three, see Brown 1989, pp. 66–67.

2. See Mancini 1956–57, vol. 1, p. 249, and Felton 1991b, p. 81. Del Bravo (1988, pp. 167ff.) has pointed out the charitable side to Ribera's early life-style — Mancini said he supported "many wastrels" — and connects it with the subjects of charity and the abandonment of earthly possessions that appear in the first years of his career.

REFERENCES

Bartsch 7; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 105, no. 7; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 6; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 6; Wessely 1882, p. 54, no. 4; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, pp. 38–39; Trapier 1952, p. 26; Brown 1973, no. 6; D'Amico 1978, no. 101; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 94; Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 157; Pérez Sánchez 1978, n.p.; Rome 1981, no. 32; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 72; Brown 1989, no. 6.

77 *Studies of Ears*

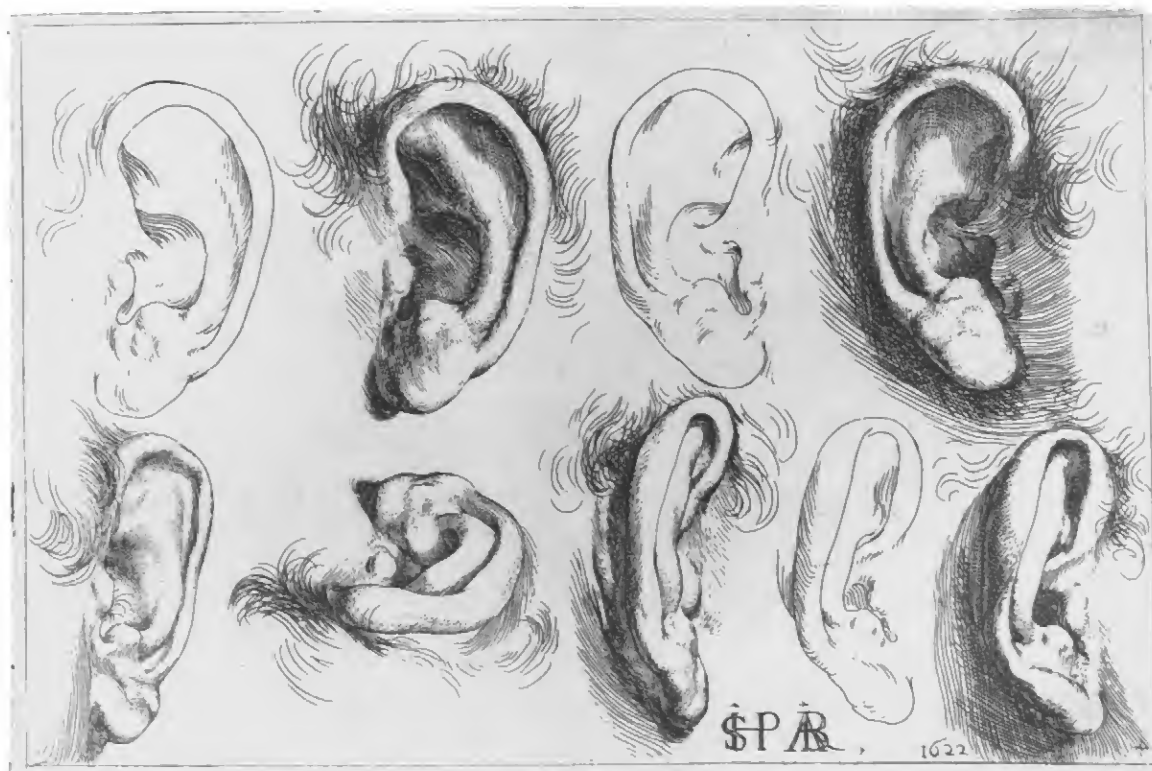
Etching, 5¼ × 8¼ in. (146 × 222 mm) (sheet)

Signed (with a monogram) and dated 1622, inscribed with a 4 (reversed) lower right corner

I/III

Enriqueta Harris Frankfort

ABOUT 1622 Ribera etched three plates of studies of ears, eyes, and noses and mouths (Bartsch 15–17; Brown 1973 and 1989, 7–9). These were almost certainly meant



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as the beginning of a series of “didactic exercises” for students and as such followed a well-established tradition in Italy that included books by Odoardo Fialetti (Bartsch, vol. 17, nos. 198–243) and Francesco Brizio and Luca Ciamberlano after Agostino Carracci (Bartsch, vol. 18, pp. 159–70), which are close to Ribera in date (see the essay by Jonathan Brown). Palomino’s 1724 statement that Ribera produced “a celebrated manual of the first principles of painting” may refer to these prints, but it was misinterpreted in later literature to refer to the many commercially produced copies of Ribera’s prints in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹ Correcting this long-standing confusion does not negate the initial hypothesis concerning the manual, which is borne out by the numbering of the plate and by the recognition that the series was probably meant to extend to at least four etchings. A ghostly eye in the plate used for *The Large Grotesque Head* (see cat. 81) suggests the beginning of a second study sheet of eyes.² The three study sheets illustrated here (cats. 77–79) have remained

together at least since 1688, further confirming that early collectors viewed them as a group. They were owned by Pierre Mariette (Lugt 1788 or 1789, his mark, dated 1688), the great Parisian printseller born in Ribera’s lifetime, and then by John Bernard (Lugt 1419) in the eighteenth century and by St. John Dent (Lugt 2373) in the nineteenth.

The inspiration for the book of exercises may have sprung from Ribera’s own early experiences. De Dominici, who is not always reliable about Ribera’s early years, suggestively relates that the young boy was first exposed to the visual arts by a schoolmate who came to their grammar school with (sheets of?) “occhi, nasi, bocche, orecchie, ed altri simili primi elementi del disegno” (eyes, noses, mouths, ears, and other similar first elements of drawing).³

By purely visual means—and many such manuals included texts—the artist suggests that the ear be drawn from various points of view. For three ears he offers schematic linear outlines, and then the same are fully depicted, with curly hair around the tops

of the lobes. The modeling is exceptionally sensitive. As observed in Jonathan Brown’s essay, images that could be humdrum are instead vibrant and alive, especially in exceptionally fine impressions, such as the one shown here.

Two of the ears, one seen straight on and the other from a sharp angle (reversed in the print), appear in a red-chalk-and-wash drawing along with an extraordinary study of a bat, below which is a banderole with the inscription *FULGET SEMPER VIRTUS* (Virtue shines forever) (cat. 90; MMA acc. no. 1972.77). All three elements are placed quite carefully in relationship to one another on the sheet, but it is difficult to know whether one motif was meant to relate to another thematically. The bat has been read as a symbolic allusion to Valencia, Ribera’s native province, because it appears in a legend concerning King James I’s recapture of the province from the Moors. Subsequently the bat was made part of the Valencian coat of arms.⁴ Ribera’s insistence on his Spanish heritage, which proved so useful with the viceroys in Naples, is well known,

and he may have been thinking of a Valencian patron for this project. The frontispieces of both the so-called *Small* and *Large Book of Drawings* by Fialetti include the coats of arms of the men to whom they were dedicated, Cesare d'Este and Giovanni Grimani.

However, bats elicited other responses that may be relevant here. Although their ability to fly blind was not systematically studied until the eighteenth century, when Lazzaro Spallanzani (1729–1799) demonstrated that they relied on the sense of hearing rather than sight to navigate, ideas to that effect must have circulated earlier and may provide the link between the two otherwise unrelated images of ear and bat on this sheet. At the same time, bats were often seen as sinister beings, symbolically representing ignorance or hypocrisy or, in Christian iconography, a form of the devil. They appear as such in roughly contemporary emblems, two examples being Andrea Alciati's emblem 61, *Vespertilio*, and Diego Saavedra Fajardo's *Excaecat Candor* (1640), in which bats flee the rays of the sun. Saavedra summarized his depiction as an exhortation to "overwhelm Falsehood with Truth." These negative connotations are pertinent to Goya's imagery in the *Sueños*, the first idea for a frontispiece to the *Caprichos*, and then in plate 43 of the *Caprichos*, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*.⁵ In all of these cases the "darkness" implied by the bat is contrasted to the light, above all of Truth, which may be the message of the inscription under the bat in Ribera's drawing. If this reading based on emblems is accurate, it seems unlikely that there is a meaningful connection between the studies for the drawing manual and that of the bat.

Another red-chalk drawing of about 1622, *Studies of a Head in Profile* (formerly private collection, New York), may also be a study for the drawing manual.⁶ Studies of heads of an antique mien in profile were frequently included in such manuals.

All three plates of studies were acquired by the publisher Frans van Wyngaerde of

Antwerp. He cut the plates in half but before doing so printed at least one proof with the plate intact, adding his name and a groove without ink to indicate where the incision would be made. The unique impression of this plate is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

AB

1. Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1987, p. 125; for a full discussion, see Brown 1973, pp. 16–17, 69–71, and Brown 1989, pp. 68–69, 101–2.
2. First noted by Andrew Robison; see Brown 1973, pp. 17, 70.
3. De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 2.
4. Brown 1973, p. 155.
5. Translation by Sayre, in Pérez Sánchez and Sayre 1989, p. 114; see pp. 110–16 passim. See also Alciati 1976, p. 279.
6. Brown 1973, no. 1, p. 153.

REFERENCES

- Bartsch 17; De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 2, p. 17; Gori Gandellini 1771, vol. 3, p. 157; Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 189; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 106, no. 17; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 17; Wessely 1882, p. 54, no. 5; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, p. 49; Trapier 1952, p. 29; Rodríguez Moñino 1965, p. 24; Orellana 1967, pp. 171–84; Brown 1973, no. 7; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 89; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 73; Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1987, p. 125; Brown 1989, no. 7; Reed and Wallace 1989, no. 150.

78 *Studies of Eyes*

Etching, 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (148 × 223 mm) (sheet)
False signature(?)

I/III

Enriqueta Harris Frankfort

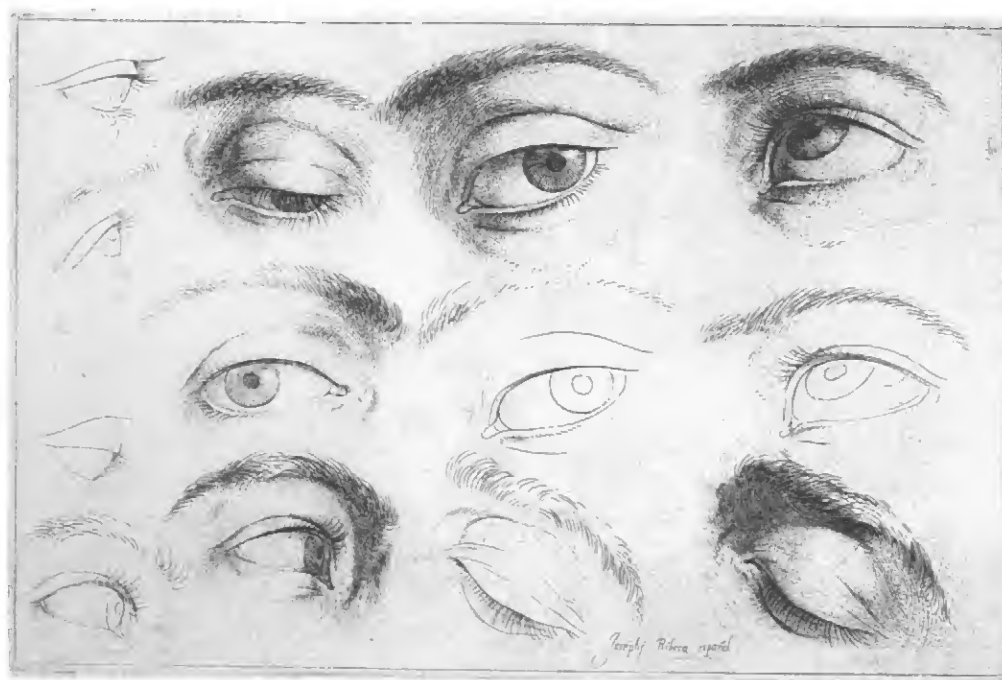
IN THIS STUDY SHEET meant to guide beginning draftsmen, Ribera portrays the eyes from numerous directions and in various stages of modeling. Pairs of eyes seen from the same point of view are shown first in pure outline and then with elaborate cross-hatching and stippling.

The inscription, which has a very uncharacteristic spelling of the artist's first name — "Joseph" — was almost certainly added by another hand, although we know of no impressions without it.

AB

REFERENCES

- Bartsch 15; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 106, no. 15; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 15; Wessely 1882, p. 54, no. 5; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, p. 49; Trapier 1952, p. 29; Brown 1973, no. 8; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 89; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 73; Brown 1989, no. 8.



79 *Studies of Noses and Mouths*

Etching

Signed at lower center

I/III

5¼ × 8¼ in. (147 × 222 mm) (sheet)

Enriqueta Harris Frankfort

III/III

False signature added at left

Left: 5⅝ × 4½ in. (142 × 114 mm); right:

5⅝ × 4 in. (143 × 103 mm)

Tom Rassieur

THIS IS THE MOST idiosyncratic of the three etchings thought to be part of Ribera's planned drawing manual for students. Again, there is a juxtaposition of outline drawings and modeled examples, although few here are as schematic as some in the other plates. Here, however, Ribera did not content himself with the depiction of generalized mouths and noses, but instead drew noses that are long, hooked, and covered with warts and mouths that are wide open to emit a scream. One senses the artist's loss of enthusiasm for his original undertaking and, concurrently, a burgeoning interest in the grotesque that was soon translated into full-fledged depictions of grotesque heads

(see cats. 80, 81). For instance, the beautifully chiseled lips of the detail at the lower left, so like those of the early chalk drawing of a classically ideal head loosely linked to the study sheets (formerly private collection, New York), seem ridiculously appended to an overhanging nose with a pronounced wart. Indeed, the profile at the far right of this study sheet is the direct predecessor of the imagery of the grotesque heads, and the two projects coincide in *The Large Grotesque Head*, in which a partially burnished-out eye must be the initial idea for another sheet of anatomical studies.

It has been convincingly suggested that the inspiration for this imagery was Leonardo's well-known drawing at Windsor Castle, *The Five Grotesque Heads* (WL12495).¹ While Ribera may not have seen the original, the widespread knowledge of the drawing among many artists implies the existence of copies. Two of the motifs in the etching—the mouth opened in a scream and the central figure with a hooked nose and eyes overshadowed by protruding brows—are directly related to figures in the drawing. At the same time, the profile at the right, in which nose and chin seem to meet, is strongly suggestive of a facial type dubbed

by Kenneth Clark the "nutcracker," found in doodles scattered throughout Leonardo's drawings,² and in another drawing by Ribera of this date. This would imply that as Ribera began to create grotesque figures, he was directly inspired by Leonardo's examples.

The presence of the open, screaming mouth makes this sheet a study of expression as well as of physiognomy. Ribera came back to it in the figures of Marsyas in two paintings of Apollo and Marsyas of the 1630s (see cat. 41). In the painted version in Naples the intensity and harshness of the sound produced by the screaming Marsyas are implied by the figure of a satyr who covers his ears with his hands. In the print, the open and closed mouths may be intended to suggest the contrast between noise and silence.³

AB

1. Konečný 1980, pp. 91–94.

2. Gombrich 1976, pp. 65–68, crediting Kenneth Clark.

3. Brown 1989, p. 26.

REFERENCES

- Bartsch 16; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 3, p. 106, no. 16; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 16; Wessely 1882, p. 54, no. 5; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, p. 49; Trapier 1952, pp. 29, 275, n. 27; Brown 1973, no. 9; D'Amico 1978, no. 98; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, p. 89; Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 159; Konečný 1980, pp. 91–94; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 73; Brown 1989, no. 9.



80 *The Small Grotesque Head*

Etching, 5⅝ × 4½ in. (142 × 113 mm)

Signed (with a monogram) and dated 1622

I/II

The Suida Manning Collection

AUGUST MAYER mistakenly thought that this etching and cat. 81 were among the "dodici foglietti con teste ideali, e di deforme aspetto" that Gori Gandellini cat-



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alogued in 1771 as by Ribera. But as Jonathan Brown has pointed out, these two plates were in fact listed separately, and the other group of twelve heads were excluded from the 1814 edition of Gori Gandellini's *Notizie degl'intagliatori*, edited by De Angelis.¹

A highly finished preparatory drawing in black chalk (E. Schapiro collection, London and Paris) shows the care with which Ribera prepared this depiction of a man suffering from von Recklinghausen's disease (multiple neurofibromatosis), the symptoms of which are large, benign tumors. Ribera has even added to the man's deformities in the etching by including additional warts and incipient tumors. This suggests that Ribera was intent on emphasizing the grotesque aspects of his model. The appeal of such images remains enigmatic. De Dominici, writing in the eighteenth century, said that the artist made "alcune teste deformi intagliate per ischerzo" (some deformed heads engraved as a joke or for fun), but this statement is difficult to interpret.² In this case, the man's bandeau, marvelously subtle in the drawing and somewhat coarsened in the etching, may be a clue to the artist's meaning. The numerous executioners in Ribera's paintings

almost always wear just this sort of rag twisted around the head. By extension, this figure appears as a low-life, disreputable character, open to derision. AB

1. See now Brown 1989, pp. 74, 103.
2. De Dominici 1742-45, vol. 3, p. 17.

REFERENCES

Bartsch 8; Gori Gandellini 1771, vol. 3, p. 157, nos. 3, 4; Gori Gandellini 1814, vol. 13, pp. 278-80; Nagler 1835-52, vol. 13, p. 105, no. 8; Le Blanc 1854-88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 9; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, p. 48; Trapier 1952, pp. 26-27; Brown 1973, no. 10; Rome 1981, no. 33; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 75; Brown 1989, no. 10; Felton 1991b, pp. 73-74.

81 *The Large Grotesque Head*

Etching with some engraving, 8¼ × 5⅞ in. (223 × 150 mm) (sheet)

Signed (with a monogram)

I/II

Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;
Harvey D. Parker Collection P13847

LIKE THE FIGURE in *The Small Grotesque Head* (see cat. 80), this man also suffers from von Recklinghausen's disease and is disfigured by warts as well. The print is closely connected to the *Studies of Noses and Mouths* (see cat. 79), since the plate origi-



81

nally may have been meant to be the fourth in the group of anatomical studies for a drawing manual. Andrew Robison was the first to note the faint outlines of an eye in the upper left corner, which suggests this intention, while the profile itself relates to that in the upper right corner of the etched study of mouths and noses. A fine impression such as this shows the etching to be the most technically sophisticated and successful of the group of studies and heads. The modeling of the face, particularly the area around the eyes, is of a remarkable subtlety.

The inspiration for this imagery may have been a print by Martino Rota (ca. 1520–1583), *Pagan Gods*, with its rows of misshapen silhouettes, and ultimately Leonardo's explorations of the grotesque. The progression from the *Studies of Noses and Mouths* to this plate supports this interpretation, as the former relates directly to Leonardo's famous drawing *The Five Grotesque Heads* (Windsor Castle, WL12495). However, the dignity and seriousness of Ribera's figure, who is endowed with a recognizable human personality, distance it sharply from Rota's grotesques and even from Leonardo's exaggerated depictions. For example, the etched outline at the far right of the final *Studies* plate is more in the spirit of Leonardo's "nutcracker" physiognomical type, nose pressed to chin, than the fully worked-out head of the print shown here. Even the depiction of the prominent warts, usually implying a sort of repulsive, vice-ridden character, could instead have more positive overtones, bespeaking an honesty in representation, as when Oliver Cromwell asked Peter Lely to paint him with "warts and everything..."¹ If mockery is the point of this characterization, then it is of a very subdued nature.

Ribera's later painted depictions of the deformed and freakish, most notably *The Clubfooted Boy* (see cat. 60), move decisively away from ridicule toward exempla of Christian charity. These depictions not only are

sympathetic but also suggest the importance of the stricken minority, as recipients of charity, for the spiritual health of the larger community.² Thus, Ribera's fascination with the "humorous, the bizarre, the outlandish, the capricious, the grotesque, and the cruel,"³ so evident in his drawings as well, may at times be satirical in intent, at other times a sort of reportage, and at still other times allusive to larger Christian themes. The etched heads are among the least fantastical of these images, but they also contain few internal clues for interpretation.

There are two known drawings relating to this image. The first (whereabouts unknown) is in the opposite direction, but is close to the final etching except that it lacks some of the more disfiguring details and the beautifully described ruff.⁴ A second is in the same direction and may derive from the print.⁵ In the same vein is a fine black-chalk study of an elderly figure of indeterminate sex with tumors, warts, and faunlike ears (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

AB

1. For the former, negative approach, see Konečný 1980, p. 92, and nn. 6, 7, while the latter, more positive approach is stressed by Langedijk 1968, p. 450.
2. Sullivan 1977–78, pp. 17–21; Felton and Jordan 1982, no. 33, pp. 211–12.
3. Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 83.
4. Brown 1989, fig. 29, p. 76.
5. Naples 1992, no. 2.6.

REFERENCES

- Bartsch 9; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 105, no. 9; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 10; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, p. 48; Trapier 1952, pp. 26–29; Brown 1973, no. 11; D'Amico 1978, no. 94; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 88; Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 160; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 75; Brown 1989, no. 11; Felton 1991, pp. 73–74.

82 *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*

Etching with engraving, 12⅜ × 9¼ in.
(315 × 237 mm)

Signed and dated 1624

I/II

Print Collection, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation

THIS SUBJECT is one to which Ribera returned repeatedly, and several early paintings and drawings can be seen in relation to this etching. According to De Dominici, soon after Ribera's arrival in Naples he caught the attention of the viceroy, the duke of Osuna, when, near the Palazzo Reale, he exhibited a martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew with two putti presenting the martyr's crown.¹ A painting owned privately is sometimes identified with the work displayed to the Neapolitan crowds; if this work is in fact by Ribera, it must date from even earlier in his career.² The duke soon after commissioned a painting of the same subject from Ribera. One of the five works later sent to Osuna (see cat. 13), it serves as a reminder of the close connection between this group and the flurry of print-making in the early 1620s. Another composition that is even more closely cropped and dramatic and almost painful in its naturalism is in the Galleria Pallavicini, Rome (fig. 3).³ A rough pen-and-ink sketch in the British Museum does not seem specifically preparatory to any of these works;⁴ nor does this print follow any of the other compositions exactly.

The etching is perhaps the most successful of this early group, both for its careful allusiveness to the historical dimensions of the event and for its dramatic cohesiveness. Bartholomew is being flayed at the order of King Astrages of Armenia, who had attempted to make the apostle wor-



ship the monarch's gods. An image of one of these, Baldach, fell to the ground and was shattered during this attempt at a forced conversion, thus sealing Bartholomew's fate.⁵ The fragmentary sculpture of the idol is seen in the lower left corner, while the elderly saint is flanked by two executioners, one still whetting his knife. This latter, eerie figure, deep in shadow, reappears both in a painting of the subject of about 1628 (cat.

19) and in a much later work of the subject (private collection), in which the contrast between the sharply illuminated saint and the shadowy torturer is made even more forceful. In the etching, it is the figure of the primary executioner that has captured Ribera's imagination. Totally absorbed, with knife clenched between his teeth and knees bent to lower him to the correct height, he goes about his awful task. Byron's oft-quoted

lines about Ribera seem very accurate here: "Spagnoletto tainted / His brush with all the blood of all the sainted" (*Don Juan*, canto 13, line 71).

This etching appeared with a dedication to Prince Philibert Emmanuel of Savoy (1588–1624), who was a nephew of Philip III and viceroy of Sicily from 1620. Ribera was clearly hoping for his patronage, but Philibert died the same year that the print was made. This superb impression of the first state was pulled before any retouching of the plate with the burin. It was printed with a sensitive use of tone, which creates a flickering quality of light over the saint's torso, effectively contrasting it with the shadowy executioner at left. Ribera seems to have been personally involved in printing the early impressions, and their unique character makes up for any inconsistencies in printing. AB

1. De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 4.
2. Felton 1976, pp. 32ff.; see now Naples 1992, no. 1.2.
3. Accepted by Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 18, p. 93, and Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 52, but rejected in Zeri 1959, no. 357, p. 206, who sees it as the work of a painter inspired by Ribera.
4. Brown 1973, no. 8, p. 159, pl. 35, p. 186.
5. Ryan and Ripperberger 1969, p. 482.

REFERENCES

Bartsch 6; De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 17; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 104, no. 6; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 2; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 5; Wessely 1882, p. 54, no. 3; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, pp. 50–51; Trapier 1952, p. 30; Brown 1973, no. 12; Felton 1976, pp. 31ff.; D'Amico 1978, no. 93; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 129; Rome 1981, no. 34; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 75; Brown 1989, no. 12.



83 *Saint Jerome Reading*

Etching with engraving and drypoint, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in. (194 × 260 mm) (to borderline)
Signed with a monogram (false)
Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;
William A. Sargent Fund 50.288

ABSORBED IN HIS READING, Saint Jerome is shown seated by a wall, his lion behind him and a skull at his side. Jonathan Brown has pointed out that this masterful image of about 1624 is one of only a few prints that are not linked to a known painting or to a program of study.¹ Indeed, the composition of this print seems to derive from an earlier print rather than from another work within Ribera's oeuvre. Although two drawings have been loosely connected with this Saint Jerome, neither can be considered truly preparatory, and most scholars now assign them dates later than the print.² In neither drawing does the figure have the compactness and rhythmic unity of that in the print—on the ground,

hunched over a scroll, with knees drawn up—which instead has a remarkable affinity to Dürer's 1519 engraving *Saint Anthony Before a City Gate* (Bartsch, vol. 7, no. 58).³ Although Ribera was primarily influenced by the prints of his immediate Italian predecessors, Federico Barocci and Annibale Carracci,⁴ this image demonstrates a broader interest in the history of printmaking. At the same time, the sophistication of the technique, so apparent in this impression, marks it as the work of a mature printmaker, one who was fully involved with the medium. The mixture of fine shading lines, subtle cross-hatching, and softening stippled strokes produced a rich texture, enhanced by both the gray-white paper that Ribera habitually used and the tonal printing. This delicacy is lost in later impressions of the print.

There are no known impressions that were made before the addition of the monogram in the upper left corner. That monogram is surely false, since, by designating the name Jusepe with a G rather than a J, it bears no resemblance to any of Ribera's

known monograms. An impression in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden, which includes a dedication identical to that of cat. 82, was thought by Brown to be a unique trial proof, but Peter Dreyer has shown that the dedication was cut from one print and pasted to the other.⁵ AB

1. Brown 1989, pp. 36, 37.
2. Vitzthum 1971, pp. 76–79; Brown 1989, pp. 80, 105; Naples 1992, no. 2.47.
3. Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 161, p. 95.
4. Brown 1973, p. 13; Reed and Wallace 1989, p. 284.
5. Brown 1989, pp. 80, 104; Dreyer 1990, pp. 180–81.

REFERENCES

Bartsch 3; De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 17; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 104, no. 3; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 3; Nagler 1864, vol. 3, no. 322; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 2; Wessely 1882, p. 54, no. 1; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, pp. 45–46; Brown 1973, no. 13; D'Amico 1978, no. 90; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 87; Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 161; Rome 1981, no. 35; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 75; Brown 1989, no. 13; Dreyer 1990, pp. 180–81.

84 *Drunken Silenus*

Etching with engraving, $10\frac{3}{4} \times 14$ in.
(273 × 355 mm) (sheet)
Signed and dated 1628
I/III

The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York; Rogers Fund, 1922 22.67.14

THIS SUPERB ETCHING reproduces, with minor but significant variations, the painting done by Ribera for Giacomo de Castro in 1626 (see cat. 16). Dated 1628, it is the culmination of Ribera's printmaking efforts of the 1620s. The popularity of the image is demonstrated by two later editions that bear inscriptions by two Roman publishers, Giovanni Orlandi and Giovanni Rossi, the second of which is dated 1649.¹

Silenus lies sprawled on the ground, hold-

ing his cup up for wine, while Pan crowns him with a wreath. Silenus's ass brays at the upper right. Below him are Mantegna-inspired drunken putti, and other satyrs peer in from the left. The figure of Pan, identified in the painting by his staff, the tortoise, and the shell, is shown in the etching with pipes in place of the shell and tortoise; both conform in part to the portrayal of the god in Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini delli dei de gl'antichi*.² In the painting, the heads of two figures are visible behind Pan. One is of the type Ribera habitually used to depict Apollo, while the other, who is satyrlike, seems to be pointing toward a crown of leaves that his companion wears. Richard Spear has tentatively suggested that Apollo's crown is being contrasted to that of Silenus, either as a parody or to empha-

size more significant points of comparison between Apollo, Silenus, and his adopted son, Bacchus.³ However, as Ribera modified this section of the composition in the print, its meaning must have been rather fluid. In the etching, the figures behind Pan are shown in more detail, and neither one is Apollonian in character: one is a leering satyr making a lascivious gesture; the other—in deep shadow—holds a tambourine. They would seem to contribute to the lighthearted, bacchanalian character of the composition. Nonetheless, the crowning of Silenus may allude to the tradition of merging the Apollonian and Bacchic articulated by Cartari: "E non meno furono coronati i poeti di hedera consecrata à Baccho, che di Lauro, pianta di Apollo" (And no less were the poets crowned with

ivy, consecrated to Bacchus, than with laurel, plant of Apollo).⁴

The effect of the scene was probably meant to be primarily satirical and humorous, given the earthiness of the depiction in both painted and etched versions. A documented performance of a burlesque rendition of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, which took place when the count of Lemos was viceroy, between 1610 and 1616, demonstrates the popularity of such an approach to mythology among the Spanish in Naples.⁵ The similarity in spirit and subject to Velázquez's *Feast of Bacchus* of 1629 is noteworthy.

The pose of Silenus is seen again in reverse in a drawing that may reflect a lost painting, probably for the Alcázar, *Samson and Delilah* (Museo de Bellas Artes de Córdoba).⁶ The figure shares characteris-



tics with numerous ancient sculptures, but the composition relates most closely to Annibale Carracci's engraving of the same subject based on his Tazza Farnese, a famous silver salver designed for Odoardo Farnese between 1597 and 1600.⁷ Here, too, a reclining Silenus is supported by a kneeling faun and offered wine out of a skin by another. Ribera's interest in Annibale's work for the Farnese is suggested by one of the works De Dominici included in his general account of Ribera's etchings: an otherwise unrecorded print after the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* from the ceiling of the Galleria in the Palazzo Farnese.⁸

This extremely fine impression of the first state is richly printed, with contrasts that accentuate the three-dimensional quality of the figures. The inkiness behind Pan's head helps project it forward sharply from the wine vat behind, for example. The line has a wiry, springy quality and a great diversity of length and direction. It is the lack of these qualities that makes it impossible to accept the recent attribution to Ribera of a print comprising motifs from this etching and from the *Saint Jerome Reading*, an impression of which is in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples. This clearly seems a copy after Ribera, similar to those gathered together and published in the late seventeenth century.⁹ AB

1. The plate was purchased by the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome in 1738, and a modern edition was printed in 1933–34. For a description of the quality of the three states, see Brown 1989, no. 14, pp. 82–83, 105.
2. Chenault Porter 1979, p. 43; Cartari 1963, figs. pp. 72, 268.
3. Spear 1983, p. 133.
4. Cartari 1963, p. 218.
5. Trapier 1952, p. 40.
6. Trapier 1952, p. 241, fig. 159.
7. Multiple sources are suggested by Chenault Porter (1979, pp. 44ff.). Trapier (1952, p. 43) noted the connection between Annibale's work and the Ribera design. For the engraving, see Bohlin 1979, no. 19, pp. 456–65.
8. De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 27.
9. Bellini 1975, p. 19, fig. 32; the attribution was

also rejected in Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 95, and in Brown 1989, pp. 83, 105.

REFERENCES

- Bartsch 13; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, pp. 105–6, no. 13; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 14; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 8; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, pp. 54–55; Petrucci 1952, p. 105, no. 741; Trapier 1952, pp. 40–43; Brown 1973, no. 14; Felton 1976, p. 36; D'Amico 1978, no. 97; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 95; Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 162; Rome 1981, no. 36; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 75; Brown 1989, no. 14.

85 Coat of Arms of the Marquess of Tarifa

Etching with engraving by an anonymous engraver, 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 in. (244 × 179 mm)

Only state

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

THE SHIELD BEARS the arms of the Afán de Ribera family on the sections of the field above and below and of the Enríquez family at the sides. Elizabeth Trapier, who published the print fully for the first time, suggested that it was made for the third duke of Alcalá de Gazules, whose full name was Fernando Afán de Ribera Enríquez Girón Cortés y Guzmán. Letters written by him in 1634 and 1635 to his Neapolitan agent, Sancho de Céspedes, concern a print Ribera was to make as a frontispiece to a book of the duke's decrees, a work completed in August 1635.¹ Jonathan Brown subsequently located an example of this book, the *Pragmaticum Regni Siciliae* . . . , published in Palermo in 1635 and 1637; however, it did not include the coat of arms as a frontispiece.² Indeed, Fitz Darby has demonstrated that the heraldry refers not to the duke but to his son, the marquess of Tarifa (1614–1633).³ The crown is appropriate to a marquess, and the rather elaborate cross on which the shield is set is that of the Order of Alcántara, which the young

man entered in 1629. Thus, the print must have been commissioned by the duke on behalf of the marquess between 1629 and 1633, the date of the marquess's death, and should be viewed separately from his father's frontispiece, which was ordered somewhat later and has never been identified. The function of the coat of arms has not been ascertained, as it was not inserted in the edition of the marquess's poem *La fábula de Mirra* published in Naples in 1631. It may have been intended for his posthumous biography, the *Epitome de la virtuosa y ejemplar vida de don Fernando Afán de Ribera y Enríquez, VI Marqués de Tarifa*, published in Palermo in 1633, but we cannot know for sure unless a copy is located.⁴

Ribera's participation was limited to the three putti supporting the crown. As Trapier recognized, they derive from the putti in the upper half of the *Trinitas Terrestis*, *Saint Bruno*, and *Other Monastic Saints* (fig. 6), which, although undated, is probably from the late 1620s.⁵ These putti then reappear in a collection of engravings after Ribera, the *Livre de portraiture recueilly des oeuvres de Ioseph de Ribera dit l'Espanolet et gravé à l'eau forte par Louis Ferdinand*, published in 1650 (Biblio-



thèque Nationale, Paris). The name of the engraver of the coat of arms has not come to light. AB

1. Trapier 1952, pp. 101–2; the letters are in Saltillo 1940–41, pp. 246–47.
2. Brown 1973, no. 15, pp. 76–77.
3. Fitz Darby 1953, pp. 68–69, n. 1.
4. Brown 1973, p. 77, and Brown 1989, no. 15, pp. 84, 105–6.
5. Trapier 1952, p. 102.

REFERENCES

Bartsch 18; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 3, p. 106, no. 18; Mayer 1908, p. 58; Trapier 1952, pp. 101–2; Fitz Darby 1953, pp. 68–69, n. 1; Brown 1973, no. 15; Brown 1989, no. 15.

86 *Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria*

Etching, 13¼ × 10⅝ in. (350 × 270 mm)
(plate)

Signed and dated 1648, inscribed: *El Smo Sr Don Iuan de Austria*

I/III

British Museum, London; Trustees of the British Museum

Not illustrated

II/III (with engraving and drypoint?)

British Museum, London; Trustees of the British Museum

Illustrated p. 166

THIS ETCHING, which marks Ribera's return to printmaking after many years, is adapted from his painted portrait of Don Juan of Austria, now in the Palacio Real, Madrid. Don Juan, the illegitimate son of Philip IV, was sent to quell the popular anti-Spanish revolt that, between July 7 and 16, 1647, was led by Tommaso Aniello da Amalfi, known as Masaniello, "Il Re di Napoli."¹ Don Juan went to Naples in October 1647 and remained there until September 1648. He was followed by the Spanish armada in October 1648.

During the rebellion, Ribera took refuge with the Spanish in the Palazzo Reale,²

but his loyalties during the events that followed are ambiguous. His attachment to his Spanish heritage, well documented through his constant reference to it in his signatures, was surely important for a career that relied so heavily on the support of the Spanish viceroys.³ Although he rarely painted portraits, Ribera must have seemed the natural candidate to do the official portrait of Don Juan, which was in the Alcázar in Madrid by 1686. This is in marked contrast to most of the other significant artists working in Naples, who rushed—more or less surreptitiously—to portray Masaniello and who took strongly anti-Spanish postures. De Dominici lists some sixteen, including Salvator Rosa and Aniello Falcone, who formed a *Compagnia della Morte* to avenge the death of a relative of Falcone's killed by the Spanish.⁴ However, in De Dominici's narrative it is Ribera, "Lo Spagnoletto," who appears at the outset as the protector of these artists, using his influence with the Spanish on their behalf but unable to really assist them after the revolt was crushed. The accuracy of this account has not been assessed, but Ribera surely would never have jeopardized his own standing with the Spanish government, and it is striking that Ribera not only painted the victorious Don Juan but also returned to printmaking to disseminate the image more widely. One wonders whether some of Ribera's well-documented problems with other Italian artists went beyond professional jealousies and disagreements to political issues.

Print and painting are quite similar except for the extensive cityscape that stretches behind the rider in the etching. The painting presents an evocative but generalized vista of the Bay of Naples, including a castle that is difficult to identify precisely.⁵ In the print, the city, which is laid out quite clearly, is seen from a bird's-eye view from the south, as it appears in most seventeenth-century maps.⁶ Not only do horse and rider loom imposingly over the city, but it also

has been noted that the front hooves appear to be about to stomp on the Piazza (del) Mercato, the geographic center of the revolt,⁷ clearly an allusion to the domination of the entire city. It is therefore remarkable that Masaniello was depicted in the same way: standing on a bluff, with outstretched arm holding a baton and the entire city spread out behind him.⁸ Don Juan, of course, is far from the barefoot fish seller in his attire, and he is seated on his horse in the formal position of the levade, evoking Rubens's and Velázquez's royal equestrian portraits.⁹

The print is known in three states. The second state—illustrated here—the unique impression of which belongs to the British Museum, reflects much reworking of the head, panorama, and sky and has an added borderline. The changes are most noteworthy in the portrait itself, which transforms a seemingly adolescent Don Juan into a mustachioed and more sharply defined adult quite different in character. The survival of only one example of the transformed image is enigmatic, especially as the first state seems somewhat unfinished by comparison. In the third state, the sitter has been changed entirely so that he is now Charles II of Spain, and the inscription was correspondingly revised. The date was altered to read 1670, and the publisher's name, Gaspar de Hollander of Antwerp, was added.

AB

1. For an introduction to the events of the revolt and its depiction in art, see Fiorentino 1984, pp. 43–49; Masaniello was killed by his own followers on the 16th of July, but the revolt continued.
2. Palomino de Castro y Velasco 1987, p. 125, n. 6.
3. De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 10, discusses the favor Ribera found in the eyes of successive viceroys and the riches this brought him, as well as the consequent loss of employment to other Neapolitan artists.
4. De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, pp. 74–75; Fiorentino 1984, p. 44.
5. Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, pp. 122–23.
6. See the examples in Alisio 1984, pp. 77–97, especially pp. 78, 79, 82, 91.

7. Alisio 1984, no. 1.5, p. 95.
8. In a painting attributed to Onofrio Palumbo in a private collection and in a printed illustration (which derives from the painting?), in A. Giraffi, *Ragguaglio del tumulto di Napoli...* (Padua, 1648), both illustrated in Fiorentino 1984, pp. 46, 49.
9. Liedtke 1989, chap. 1.

REFERENCES

- Bartsch 14; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 106, no. 14; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 8; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 10; Woermann 1890, p. 149; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, pp. 147–48; Trapier 1952, p. 198; Brown 1973, no. 16; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 122; Rome 1981, no. 37; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 75; Brown 1989, no. 16.

ATTRIBUTED TO RIBERA

87 *The Lamentation*

Etching with drypoint

Signed with a false monogram: GR

II/II

8 × 10¹/₈ in. (203 × 257 mm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951 51.501.514

THIS RATHER STIFF, technically unsophisticated etching is sometimes excluded from Ribera's oeuvre. Its relative coarseness suggested to August Mayer that it was reworked by a student, and it was later rejected by several scholars including, initially, Jonathan Brown.¹ However, there is evidence in favor of its autograph status. Marcus Sopher, for one, has persuasively argued that Ribera may not have completed the plate and that this accounts for its unsatisfactory details.² For example, the ladder is insubstantial in appearance, probably the result of the artist's attempting to burnish it out (see essay

by Jonathan Brown). Drypoint, which has been used tentatively, only begins to define Saint John's head and to articulate the space between the Virgin and Mary Magdalen, and Ribera may have meant to elaborate texture and outline in other areas as well. In the impression illustrated here, an easily visible pale grid of fine lines in the lower center seems to indicate a shape or a shadow left incomplete by the printmaker. In view of all of the above, *The Lamentation* seems less distant from the prints dated 1621 and may immediately precede them.³ The monogram in the lower left corner is false, but the existence of an impression in Rome (Gabinetto Nazionale), printed before it was added, suggests that its insertion was intended to identify the author of the work. Finally, an impression of *Saint Jerome Reading* in Boston (cat. 83) has a faint printing or maculature of the *Lamentation* on the verso, which supports the attribution to Ribera. Fine impressions, such as this one, have an appealing tonal character appreciated by Ribera, who often did not wipe the plate clean of ink before printing.

Giulio Mancini, in his treatise *Considerazioni sulla pittura* of 1620, mentions a "Christo Deposto" as a painting done by Ribera in Rome.⁴ Given the presumed early date of the etching, it may very well reflect this important lost painting.⁵ The composition of the print is closest to the painting now in London, which may be an early work but which shares characteristics with other works by Ribera of the same subject.

AB

1. Mayer 1908, pp. 111–13; Brown 1973, no. 17, pp. 78–80. See also Maclaren and Braham 1970, pp. 92–93, n. 7.
2. Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 158, p. 94.
3. This conclusion is now accepted by Brown, in Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 72, and in Brown 1989, no. 18, pp. 88, 106.
4. Mancini 1956–57, vol. 1, p. 251.
5. On occasion, both the *Lamentation* now in the Louvre and that in the National Gallery, London, have been put forward as possibly the painting mentioned by Mancini, the former in Felton 1971, pp. 158–60, and the latter, tentatively, in Maclaren and Braham 1970, pp. 93–94, n. 10.

REFERENCES

- Bartsch 1; Basan 1767, vol. 2, pp. 413–14; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 104, no. 1; Le Blanc 1854–88,



vol. 3, p. 327, no. 1; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 379, no. 1; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, pp. 111–12; Angulo Iníguez 1958, p. 341; Maclaren and Braham 1970, pp. 92–93, n. 7; Brown 1973, no. 17; D'Amico 1978, no. 89; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, p. 87; Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 158; Rome 1981, no. 39; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 72; Brown 1989, no. 17.

ATTRIBUTED TO RIBERA

88 *Cupid Whipping a Satyr*

Etching, $6\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (168 × 209 mm)

With a monogram: SLN(?)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund,
1953 53.601.1



CUPID PLUNGES headfirst to whip a satyr tied to a tree. The theme—dating to antiquity—is the chastisement of animal passion, in the guise of the satyr, by love, in the guise of Cupid. As one of the phases of the progress of love, chastening the passions by love is a subject that exists in various treatments by Titian, Veronese, and Agostino Carracci.¹ The attribution of this lively etching has been much debated. Gori Gandellini included it among the etchings he attributed to Ribera, and its style has affinities with Ribera's drawings of the 1620s, particularly a sheet of a similar subject in the Musée Condé, Chantilly.² It was accepted by Adam Bartsch, but most other cataloguers (G. K. Nagler, A. Mayer, J. Brown [1973]) have rejected its ascription to Ribera, especially after the enigmatic monogram at the foot of the rock was noticed. This probably reads SLN, interpreted by Nagler as the initials of the Roman artist Lorenzo Nelli (d. 1708).³

Brown now believes that the print is by Ribera despite the evidence of the monogram. He compares the tree trunk here with

those in *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (cat. 82) and the fine lines in this print with those in *The Penitent Saint Peter* (cat. 76).⁴ The draftsmanship is very close to the pen-and-ink *Saint Sebastian* (cat. 91), which has already been mentioned in relation to another print (see cat. 71), and the figure types are similar to the wonderfully abbreviated satyr and cupids in a drawing now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig. 32).⁵

Nonetheless, it is difficult to explain away the monogram, which appears to be contemporary with the plate and which differs completely from the complicated monogram—referring to his nationality as well as to his name—that Ribera customarily used. Also, aside from Ribera's two earliest experiments (cats. 71, 72), this is the most loosely drawn and least built up of all of the etchings, lacking the strongly volumetric quality, achieved through networks of hatched lines, that characterizes the prints dated 1621. It may be among the earliest prints by Ribera, but it has an ease and a

grace of execution that differentiate it rather sharply from the *Saint Sebastian*, for example. Thus, although the attribution to Ribera is very attractive, there is no conclusive evidence in either direction.

The plate belongs to the Calcografia Nazionale, Rome, and even in the eighteenth century, impressions from it were still being pulled. AB

1. Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, pp. 95–96. Sopher refers us to Ripa 1970, p. 66.
2. Gori Gandellini 1771, vol. 3, p. 158; for the drawing, see Brown 1989, p. 90, fig. 37.
3. Nagler 1864, vol. 4, no. 1365.
4. Brown 1989, pp. 90, 107.
5. See Brown 1973, pl. 33, p. 184, pl. 42, p. 193; Naples 1992, no. 2.16.

REFERENCES

- Bartsch 12; Gori Gandellini 1771, vol. 3, pp. 155–58, no. 5; Nagler 1835–52, vol. 13, p. 106, no. 12; Le Blanc 1854–88, vol. 3, p. 327, no. 13; Nagler 1864, vol. 4, no. 1365; Andresen 1873, vol. 2, p. 380, no. 9; Woermann 1890, p. 150; Kristeller 1905, p. 411; Mayer 1908, p. 57; Petrucci 1952, p. 87, no. 580; Brown 1973, no. 18; D'Amico 1978, no. 96; Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno 1978, no. 163; Rome 1981, no. 40; Brown 1989, no. 18.



Fig. 29. Jusepe de Ribera, *Adoration of the Shepherds* (cat. 118)

Drawing in the Art of Ribera

MANUELA B. MENA MARQUÉS

RIBERA'S IDENTITY as a draftsman is the achievement of the last twenty-five years. It was Aldo de Rinaldis's belief in 1910 that "the very few drawings ascribed to [Ribera] leave grave doubts regarding their authenticity."¹ In 1923, August Mayer would still state that "a small number of authentic drawings by the master have come down to us,"² and, in 1964, F. J. Sánchez Cantón asserted that "the majority of drawings that appear to be Ribera's are by disciples and Neapolitan imitators...."³ Ribera's traits as a draftsman were gradually redefined through a series of articles Walter Vitzthum began publishing in 1963, in which he brought to light drawings in public and private collections incorrectly attributed to other artists.⁴ In 1965, Michael Mahoney completed a dissertation on Salvator Rosa in which erroneous attributions to Rosa of drawings by Ribera—Rosa's teacher—were clarified,⁵ and during this same period Alfonso Pérez Sánchez published several more drawings by Ribera from the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid.⁶

Research into the artist as a draftsman and engraver culminated in a 1973 exhibition at Princeton University organized by Jonathan Brown, who summarized the literature, contributed new material of great significance, and defined Ribera's work in drawing with absolute clarity. He also established the basis for a chronological development.⁷ Since then, several other studies by Brown, one as recent as 1982,⁸ have gone on to acquaint us with new drawings by the artist, bringing the number known at present to more than one hundred.

Ribera was evidently a prolific draftsman, as would be expected of an artist who was a master of composition and of anatomical exactitude, and whose ability to capture expressive attitudes and gestures was supreme. The natural path for achieving such mastery has been the same for painters throughout history—constant drawing, as much the copying of figures from life as the creation of compositions conceived by the imagination. Although the number of surviving drawings by Ribera is not great when compared with those of his contemporaries, the ones that do survive nonetheless demonstrate the mastery and sureness of an artist who used both pen and chalk assiduously. Filippo Baldinucci attested to this in the seven-

teenth century when he observed: "Because Ribera drew so well he was made head of the Accademia [di San Luca, Rome]."⁹ The statement is not accurate, since Ribera was only a member of the Accademia, but it indicates his fame as a draftsman among his contemporaries.

In the eighteenth century, De Dominici spoke both of the perfection of Ribera's drawings and of their number, giving a lively description of the artist's drawing method: "At night he would engage visitors to his house in conversation; but he also drew what he had to paint the following day, and once the action was resolved he made a finished drawing in pen or chalk and wash, and he then painted that figure from life, having procured some old and decrepit men such as are seen in his pictures... the great number of drawings by him testified to his continual study." De Dominici also cited various drawings by Ribera in his own collection, which included "a drawing in charcoal that, together with other drawings of Saint Paul, various saintly hermits, and half-length figures of Saint Jerome and the holy apostles, and other caprices, is in our collection of original drawings."¹⁰

Brown cited a statement made by Antoine Dezallier d'Argenville in 1745. In his writings this French man of letters and collector mentioned this facet of Ribera's art: "Most of his drawings were done with a refined and spirited touch of the pen, often hatched and crosshatched on the shaded side without any wash. They are accompanied by landscapes done with an excellent touch. One sees others in black chalk, heightened with white or with red chalk. This painter is best recognized by his broad [*couché*] use of the pen, which he used without lifting his hand [from the paper], and by his elongated heads covered with thin and shaggy hair, whose principal merit resides in their expression."¹¹ The knowledge that d'Argenville reveals may indicate that Ribera's drawings were still quite numerous in the eighteenth century and that he had seen them in various collections, although perhaps he was only referring, in a general way, to thirty-one of Ribera's drawings that in 1741, shortly before his book was published, were sold at the famous auction of the Crozat collection in Paris.¹²

There is an interesting and significant historical reference

to Ribera's drawings by the Spanish historian Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, who in his *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de bellas artes en España* of 1800 declares that "his pen-and-ink and chalk drawings are quite admirable for their skilled, tasteful touch. I have some in red chalk that leave nothing to be desired."¹³ Ceán Bermúdez was particularly interested in drawing, and his collection was notable, but his statement that he owned drawings by Ribera is of specific importance. Far from Italy, and in a country like Spain, where collections of drawings were traditionally rare and insignificant, the inclusion within his collection of drawings by Ribera, which Ceán must have acquired in Madrid, confirms our earlier thesis that Ribera's drawings were both numerous and admired. His description of some of them, in red chalk and quite finished, is in complete accord with one of Ribera's most distinctive and frequent techniques, as is his description of others in chalk or pen and ink. He thus appears to refer to original drawings rather than copies.

Historical references to Ribera's work, then, highlight his importance as a draftsman, adding to the admiration voiced by collectors. Yet information regarding Ribera's drawings in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century collections indicates that they were not numerous. The thirty-one drawings in the Crozat collection in France is the largest number mentioned, in evident contrast to those of other contemporary and even earlier artists, the latter of whose drawings are sometimes preserved in the hundreds. The problem of the relatively small number of drawings by Ribera is undoubtedly connected with the general scarcity of Neapolitan drawings. The matter was studied in Vitzthum's first article in 1963 on Neapolitan drawings¹⁴ and later in his monograph.¹⁵ Traditionally, it was believed that drawing in Naples, as in Spain, had not acquired the conceptual character it had developed in the rest of Italy. Drawing was regarded as no more than the practical aspect of a painting, rather than a process of abstraction and clarification of ideas in the painter's mind, a status accorded to it elsewhere in Italy. In support of this theory, Vitzthum mentions a fact of outstanding importance: the presence in Naples of Caravaggio, long considered the greatest, indisputable master of seventeenth-century Neapolitan painting and an artist who, according to his own testimony, disdained drawing.¹⁶

Vitzthum, however, with his profound knowledge, rejected these traditional views. Neapolitan artists were no different from their Italian contemporaries in their habit of drawing. Examples exist in Naples, as in other cities, of that practical kind of drawing done in preparation for a painting, and in Naples there are also masterful examples, by Ribera himself, among others, of the sort of abstracting, conceptual drawing that figured so largely in the treatises on art from the time of

the Renaissance. Moreover, Caravaggio is now viewed as an isolated artist in the Neapolitan world; it is Ribera who is the true formulator of the features of Neapolitan painting: "At close range, substituting Ribera for Caravaggio changes everything. If Caravaggio was not very interested in drawing, Ribera on the contrary gave a prominent place in his work to the graphic arts."¹⁷

There is still no logical explanation for the scarcity of drawings among Neapolitan artists. However, in Spain, where relatively few drawings are preserved, the most plausible explanation is a lack of interest by collectors in a medium that did not enjoy the importance or interest of paintings.¹⁸ The precarious state of conservation of many of the drawings that have been preserved, with their worn, stained, and ripped papers, reveals a lack of care by those who owned them.

But the case of Ribera, a permanent resident in Italy, may have been quite different. He was considered one of the great artists of his time, and presumably collectors were interested in his drawings. Nonetheless, as with other Neapolitan masters, only a little over a hundred drawings have survived—an extremely small number, considering an artistic activity of more than forty years. Yet only in the case of two other Neapolitan artists—Salvator Rosa and Luca Giordano—is the number of preserved drawings notably higher than that of such other contemporary Neapolitan painters as Caracciolo, Stanzione, and Falcone. With Rosa and Giordano, the important factor was undoubtedly the time they spent away from Naples. This may suggest the importance of specialized collections outside the city, but it could equally indicate that in Naples, for some reason, drawings were destroyed around the time that they were made. In this regard, attention should be called to Renato Ruottolo Galasso's opinion that the plague of 1656 may have caused the disappearance of many of these works, as artists' studios and libraries were burned to sanitize the city and avoid the spread of the contagion.¹⁹ This extremely interesting hypothesis deserves thorough study and documentation.

The study of Ribera's drawings, insofar as numbers permit, reveals his attachment to the world of Italian, not Spanish, drawing, and least of all to Valencian drawing. In fact, Ribera's drawings show no connection with either Spanish art or Spanish drawing, aside from the most generic characteristics. Among these, the first is the sense of light and color, which in Ribera is connected to a taste for intense illumination and its contrasting shadow. This feature may have found its expressive ideal in Caravaggio and his followers, but surely harks back to the world of fifteenth-century Flemish painting, which was so deeply rooted in Spain. Together with this very special concept of light in



Fig. 30. Jusepe de Ribera, *Saint Cecilia* (cat. 117)

Ribera's art, there is also his vision, or, rather, his manner of representing reality, revealed with greater clarity in his drawing—a more direct and immediate mode of expression—than in his painting. Occasionally cruel or heartless, Ribera's vision is always touched by an objectifying elegance that transforms the artist into the primary observer, not the creator, of reality.

It is purely speculative to discuss the drawings that Ribera might have been familiar with in the early years of his formation, when he was still in Spain. He may have seen works by Juan de Juanes (d. 1579): delicate, precise, highly detailed in the formulation of the figures, in the Flemish style; and if we follow the traditional sources of his early Spanish training, we would hypothesize that he knew Francisco Ribalta's drawings—pen-and-ink sketches with touches of wash on colored paper, which, however, really have little to do with Ribera's drawings.²⁰ While he was still in Spain perhaps he copied engravings of northern and Italian masters, the traditional foundation of artistic instruction in Spanish studios. But little of this can be seen in his first known drawings.

Much more pertinent are drawings by Italian masters, whose influence in all aspects of his production is clearly visible. Prior to Ribera's residence in Rome, he was in touch with the artistic milieu of Parma, and it is probably not accidental that his taste for and interest in pen-and-ink drawings of great refinement, touched with sensitive gray-toned or sepia washes that dissolve the figures in space, or rapid penstrokes that animate his figures, reflect the draftsmanship of an artist like Parmigianino, whose sensibility, strangely enough, is related to that revealed in Ribera's drawings. This delicate, rapid technique is the one that seems best to express the more personal as well as singular world of Ribera, for whom drawings were not primarily preparations for a painting but autonomous and independent. This attitude contrasted with that of other Italian artists and had a profound influence on the drawings of his students and followers, for whom, throughout the seventeenth century, drawing was an artistic expression of intrinsic value.²¹

It was, however, undoubtedly the time Ribera spent in Rome that determined the definitive character of his style and methods of working. Brown recognized this in the 1973 Princeton exhibition catalogue referred to above.²²

In the conversation that the Spanish writer Jusepe Martínez had with the artist in Naples in 1625, which he transcribed in his *Discursos practicable del nobilísimo arte de la pintura*,²³ Ribera expressed his desire to return to Rome to study again such artists of the past as Raphael, whose works demanded, in his words, continual meditation. This need for a thorough knowledge of the classical roots of Italian art, together with the study of antiquity, was shared by the most academic artists of the



Fig. 31. Jusepe de Ribera, *Susannah and the Elders*. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

Roman world. Ribera's artistic practices—his analysis of the human figure and its correct proportions, his study of expressions, and his careful preparation of paintings—demonstrate an interest in and profound knowledge of the rules of academic drawing and explain the perfectly finished drawings in black or red chalk, in which the use of a live model is evident. That interest, manifest above all in his earliest drawings, is underscored for us by the series of etchings made in 1622 (cats. 77–79)—anatomical studies for the use of those interested in properly learning painting.²⁴ This kind of academic drawing, the finest expression of central Italian artists from Rome to Bologna, fully enters the Neapolitan world through the agency of Ribera and also becomes characteristic of that city's artists until well into the eighteenth century.

In fact, although Ribera's known drawings number no more than a hundred, we can see in them the methods employed by other contemporary artists from Rome or Bologna, such as Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, Domenichino, Giovanni Lanfranco, and Andrea Sacchi, or even such artists as the Cavalier d'Arpino, who had a more rigorously academic style, closer to the traditions of the sixteenth century.

Ribera, then, was connected to the world of Italian drawing, but his work also reveals certain personal characteristics, which in a particular sense make it original and unique in the pan-

orama of seventeenth-century Italian drawing. His originality lies not so much in his method of working as in his interpretation of subjects and his use of what were undoubtedly independent drawings.

From the technical point of view, Ribera's surviving drawings indicate that he knew how to employ all the means then in use, but he seems to have preferred one above all others: that of the rapid pen stroke, with light and shade suggested by delicate washes. Some sketches, however, are rendered entirely by pen—a few lines drawn with a vibrant, nervous, lively stroke and an economy of means that, again according to Vitzthum, finds its equal in Italian drawing only in the caricatures sketched by masters from the Roman-Bolognese milieu at the beginning of the seventeenth century.²⁵ This is the opposite of Dezallier d'Argenville's astonishing judgment of Ribera's drawings: "One should not look for nobility or grace or refinement of touch; they are jerky in the taste of Guercino. . . ."²⁶ The drawings of neither Ribera nor Guercino seem crude to viewers today. On the contrary, in some cases they possess a grace and refinement that, with Ribera, seem to become purer with the passage of time.

On the basis of the etchings, Vitzthum believed that Ribera accorded graphic art a place of fundamental importance in his work. But Brown has demonstrated that Ribera's etchings represent a youthful episode, concluded before the decade of the 1630s, whereas drawing remained a constant interest throughout his life. In fact, despite the complicated chronology of Ribera's drawings, it has been possible to establish a continuous activity from around 1622 until his final years. It is not easy to determine exactly why Ribera executed the splendid series of etchings in the 1620s, providing iconographic models of impressive technical mastery that were followed by many seventeenth-century artists in Italy and abroad, but what seems clear is that his activity as a printmaker was independent of his work as a draftsman. The etchings were few in number and thematically limited: anatomical plates and studies of expression (cats. 77–80); the three Saint Jeromes (cats. 74, 75, 83); *The Penitent Saint Peter* (cat. 76); *The Poet* (cat. 73); the *Drunken Silenus* (cat. 84); and *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (cat. 82); to which must be added the late *Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria* (cat. 86). These do not in any way display the varied thematic gamut of his drawings, and from an aesthetic point of view they are quite different. Most of the engravings are on plates of considerable size and produce an indisputable impact on the viewer through the force of the image and the meticulous analysis of detail, but in this sense are similar to the paintings and do not reveal the hidden aspects of Ribera's creative capacity that may be discovered in his drawings. Except for some rather early examples, perhaps intended for etchings, the drawings are of small size,

rapid in their formulation and full of abstractions, yet consequently no less defined in the expressiveness of the figures or the texture of the materials represented. They almost give the impression of being the artist's diary in which he jotted down his thoughts, some more complete than others, some subsequently transposed to canvas, others intended only for himself, in that constant play of variation and analysis that constitutes the deepest essence of art.

On a number of Ribera's drawings, instead of an inscription with his name there is an autograph signature, larger than those found on drawings by other Italian artists of the seventeenth century and accompanied, as on his paintings, by the "español" indicating his country of origin. This is curious and somewhat unusual, since the practical nature of preparatory drawings made a signature totally unnecessary. It would indeed be difficult to find any drawings by contemporary Italian painters signed as carefully as those by Ribera. This fact is surely significant and could help to clarify the use or role of drawing in Ribera's art. It is odd that the more finished drawings or the drawings of known compositions are generally not the ones that bear his signature, for it would seem only normal to sign a presentation drawing. Perhaps with the *Archangel Michael* in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Córdoba, such is, in fact, the case, but for a drawing such as the *Man Bound to a Stake* (cat. 115),²⁷ apparently a drawing that Ribera made for himself, the careful signature is more difficult to explain. In any event, the signed drawings appear throughout the artist's entire production and not during any one specific period.

The outlines for a chronology of Ribera's drawings have been established by Brown.²⁸ There are occasional dated draw-



Fig. 32. Jusepe de Ribera, *Sleeping Nude with Cupids and a Satyr*. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England

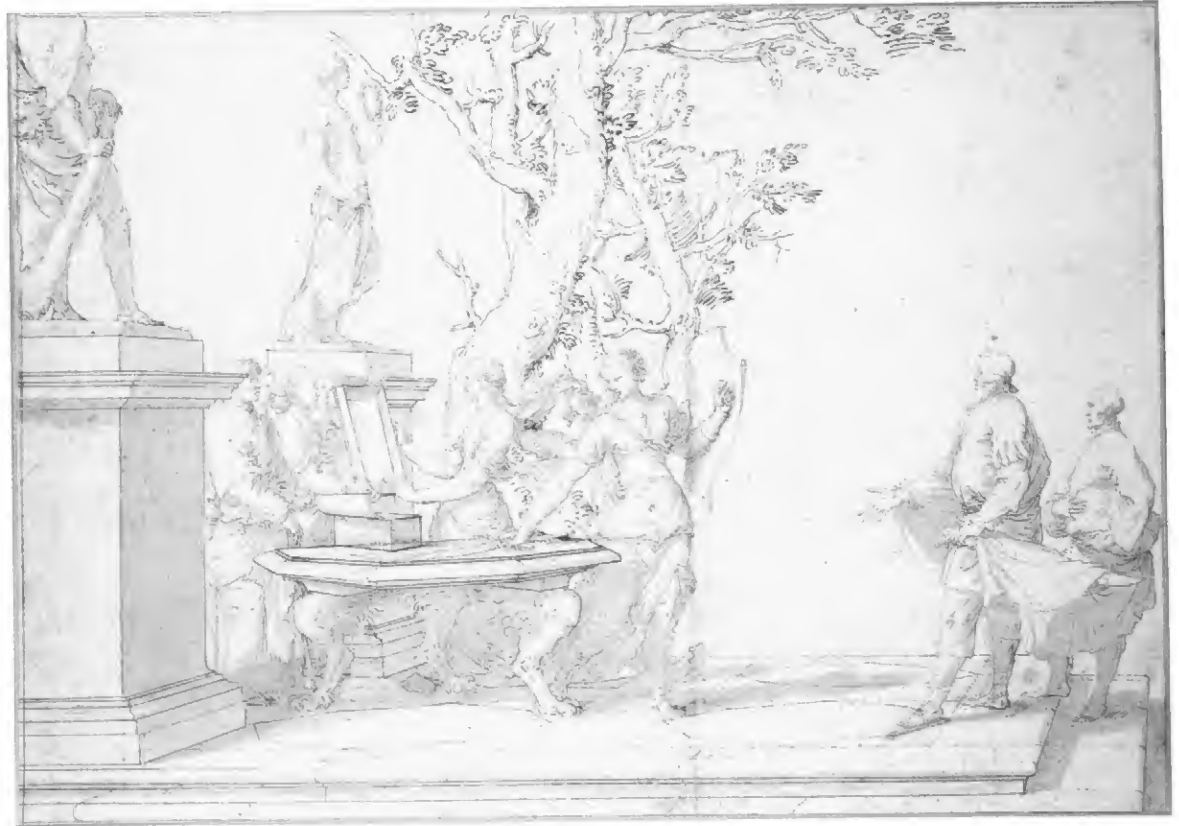


Fig. 33. Jusepe de Ribera,
Achilles Among the Daughters of Licomedes.
Teylers Museum, Haarlem

ings, such as the beautiful *Saint Albert* in the British Museum, which bears the date 1626, while others are related to documented works.²⁹ The studies of expression and anatomy³⁰ are related to the etchings from the early 1620s. With these we can group others, with similar characteristics, in which Ribera prefers to use black or red chalk, techniques that allow him to realize drawings of great fineness, meticulousness, detail, and finish. Among these, the *Saint Irene* in Christ Church, Oxford, and the *Saint Sebastian* in the Indiana University Art Museum (cat. 103)³¹ are outstanding.

Drawings from the period 1626 to the early 1630s include the *Head of a Warrior* in the Prado, and the *Man Tied to a Tree* in the Louvre,³² as well as the *Susannah and the Elders* (fig. 31) in the Uffizi, *Christ Beaten by a Tormentor* (cat. 99) in the British Museum,³³ and the *Archangel Michael* in Córdoba. The composition of all of these highly finished drawings is typical of Ribera during this period: large, monumental figures, either single or multiple, appear in the foreground and occupy almost all the available space on the paper. Some—the scenes with several figures—may be presentation drawings, studies realized with great care and shown for approval to the person who commissioned the painting. In this regard we have the concrete reference of a drawing of a *Pietà* that the artist probably sent to Antonio Ruffo as the model for a work on this subject that Ruffo had commissioned.³⁴ Other drawings, such as the *Head of*

a *Satyr* (cat. 89) or the *Head of a Warrior*, are certainly detailed studies for specific figures in a painting, intended for transfer to the canvas with almost no changes. This method of working differed in no way from that of other Italian painters of a more rigorously academic training.

Together with the early examples of drawings in black and red chalk from the 1620s, we find studies in pen and ink and in pen and ink with washes, the techniques he later used most frequently (at least, these are the techniques employed in most of the drawings that have survived). Perhaps the earliest is the beautiful *Saint Sebastian* (cat. 91) from Oxford—to which another *Saint Sebastian* (cat. 93) from Toronto³⁵ is related—as is *The Penitent Saint Jerome in a Landscape* and a *Study for a Kneeling Mary Magdalen* (cat. 94).³⁶ The latter work's technique of crosshatched and parallel lines recalls that of the engravings from the same period. Here, Ribera timidly uses the brush for the few, very subtle washes that help to achieve the softness of the nude body and the effects of light and shade.

The etching of the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* of 1624 has a prodigious preparatory drawing, preserved in the British Museum, for which Ribera used a very strong and completely characteristic broad pen stroke.³⁷ The abbreviated forms that will become typical a few years later are already visible in this drawing. Brown relates several other drawings to this one, for example, the *Noli Me Tangere* and the *Christ Appearing to the Apostles*



Fig. 34. Jusepe de Ribera, *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*. Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid

in the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence, and the *Two Figures Seated by a Tree* in the British Museum,³⁸ for which the artist employed the same kind of very broad pen, obliging him to shade in parallel lines of great expressive value. Light fills the entire composition, becoming a protagonist in the scene and producing in the viewer the illusion of dazzling brilliance that would come to drawing only a hundred years later in the works of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. It is no accident that Ribera preferred to use the pen or wash on white paper (now generally yellowed), since this is the best technique for producing extreme effects of light. In contrast to his rigorously tenebrist canvases, with dark backgrounds against which strongly lit figures stand out, Ribera's drawings seem their antithesis, with dazzling white backgrounds against which are outlined precisely modeled figures, their beautiful anatomy in tension, the artist's powerful light striking and glancing off them—a light that reveals form, underscores material, and describes detail with the cold eye that is peculiar to Ribera.

The artist evolved considerably in a very short time. He abandoned the highly finished type of pen or chalk drawing and realized works in which the technique moved toward greater freedom. When he used the pen, the contours became rippled or broke into a multiplicity of lines and strokes, as in the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* from London (cat. 97) or the *Saint Sebastian* and the *Saint Apollonia*, both from San Francisco (cats.

105, 104).³⁹ This is also the period when the artist made the leap toward abstractions of form that were new in his work and that produced drawings of enormous ease and rapidity, which capture the essential character of form, expression, and movement. Fine examples of this are the *Sleeping Nude with Cupids and a Satyr* (fig. 32) and the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* (cat. 98), which, placed chronologically at the end of the 1620s or early in the following decade, inaugurate the series of drawings in which the artist's style is entirely defined. The fine lines and small accents and points with which Ribera created anatomy were formulated here for the first time but were almost identical in works dated twenty years later. The *Study of a Man with Upraised Hand* ("Orator") (cat. 102), its singular expressivity based on caricature, can surely be considered the prime example from this period.⁴⁰ Here Ribera does not seem to pay any attention to the refinement of his stroke, which at times is shaky or broken, or has been gone over several times and erased. Nevertheless, this is one of the most acute of Ribera's surviving drawings in its ability to capture the figure's personality and one of the most singular images in seventeenth-century Italian drawing. Along with this work, the rapid sketch for the *Massacre of the Innocents* in the Battesti collection in Toulouse, dating either from this period or perhaps somewhat later, also shows the remarkable characterization of line that is perhaps the most outstanding feature of Ribera's drawings.⁴¹ In a single stroke the artist can include aspects that are purely external, such as movement and beauty or ugliness of form, as well as psychological traits of the figures, such as sorrow, despair, or arrogance.

The same evolution can be seen in his drawings in black or red chalk. Ribera abandoned the preciousness of his early period, and in his works from the late 1620s showed less insistence on details and a taste for more expressive aspects of the composition. In this sense, the Saint Sebastian series of red-chalk studies⁴² is interesting, as is the *Saint Bartholomew* of the Witt collection in London.

The early 1630s marked a certain change in Ribera's drawings. The delicate sketches, rendered in ink and wash, are of particular interest, since they reveal a greater emphasis on subtle contrasts of light and shade and abandon the dramatic lighting of previous years. By means of wash Ribera achieved soft, pictorial effects and a greater equilibrium in his compositions. The best examples from this period are his sketches for the 1632 canvas of *Tityus* (Museo del Prado) on loan to the Gabinetto delle Stampe in Rome. From these same years, or slightly later, is the delicate study of *Saint Bartholomew* in the Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford, and the marvelous sketch of the *Woman Standing with a Man Lying at Her Feet* (cat. 113). This phase culminates in the *Achilles Among the Daughters of Licomedes* (fig. 33), in



Fig. 35. Jusepe de Ribera, *Apollo and Marsyas*. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome

the Teylers Museum of Haarlem. In these drawings, there is an element of serenity that contrasts with the traditional view of Ribera's art as dramatic. Even in a violent scene, such as the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* (fig. 34), the composition, despite the forced foreshortening of the saint and the dramatic positioning of the cross, displays the beauty of attitude and the grandiose strength of the nude saint without insisting on the brutal aspects of this iconography. For this drawing and for others from this period, such as *Achilles Among the Daughters of Licomedes*, Ribera employed the brush almost exclusively, with dark brown washes in the latter work and red washes in the former, an extremely soft technique that blends perfectly with the serene grandeur of the compositions from these years.

Ribera's style as a draftsman during the final years of his activity is exemplified by *The Immaculate Conception* (cat. 108), a preparatory study for the great canvas of 1635 in the Convent of Las Agustinas Recoletas in Salamanca. Quick and almost transparent, the pen-and-ink drawing required only a few rapid, vibrant strokes to achieve the atmospheric effect of great space in which the Virgin appears. The contours here acquire a fundamental relevance for lending movement to the figure's wide cloak, and the broken, cut, and trembling line agitates the forms, producing a sensation of movement. The reduced dimensions of the figure in relation to the surrounding space, together with the vibrating line, are characteristics of Ribera's final period. Such works as *An Inquisition Scene* (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence) or the late *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin)⁴³ are brilliant conclusions

to the graphic evolution of Ribera, with their barely sketched figures to which the viewer's imagination adds the details of a reality that Ribera, already old and with a trembling hand, has not been detained in analyzing. The profundity of Ribera's artistic thought at this time required nothing more than the whiteness of paper and a few brief lines charged with significance, realized by touches of the brush that play with the anatomy of the figures and produce the expressive charge of these late works, in which the slight movement of a head or the repressed tension of an arm convey the emotional situation of a character, with no need for complicated descriptions.

Although religious subjects predominate in Ribera's paintings, in his drawings, which are truly the deeper, more intimate expression of his artistic ideas, this is not always the case. Of course religious themes are dominant if the drawings are studied from a strictly numerical point of view, but it must be emphasized that religious subjects cluster into various groups of themes about which Ribera was almost obsessive: the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian, the Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew, and Saint Jerome in the Desert. A satisfactory explanation for this does not exist, since although these drawings could have been preparatory to paintings, almost none is linked with known works. It must be remembered, however, that one of the most frequent kinds of drawings among artists working in Italy in the seventeenth century is the "academy" drawing, that is, the representation of the male nude in different attitudes in order to study the body and to practice representing it in various positions, which would subsequently help in the composition of more complicated scenes. Although the custom was to have the nude model in fixed attitudes that soon became stereotypical in the seventeenth century, perhaps Ribera, whose interpretation of any subject was original and highly personal, preferred "academy" drawings on such themes as Saint Sebastian or Saint Bartholomew, which allowed him to study the male body, both young and old, in different attitudes and under extraordinary tension. This practice would be in keeping with De Dominici's comment already cited: "And he then painted that figure from life, having procured some old and decrepit men such as are seen in his pictures. . . ."⁴⁴ This explanation is not, however, completely convincing and should not be taken as an indication that instead of executing the customary "academy" drawings Ribera insisted on these subjects with the idea of deepening his knowledge of the nude.

There are also mythological drawings, most of which can be linked to paintings. These drawings include the *Hercules Seated* in a private collection in Rabat, Malta, the *Tityus*,⁴⁵ and the *Apollo and Marsyas* (fig. 35; the latter two drawings are in the

Gabinetto delle Stampe in Rome).⁴⁶ Ribera, however, must have treated mythological themes on other occasions, since there are drawings by him in which the compositions are taken from classical mythology and are not related to any known paintings, for example, the *Achilles Among the Daughters of Licomedes* and the *Sleeping Nude with Cupids and a Satyr* (both of which are mentioned above). But while the latter is clearly related to the preparation of a painting, the *Achilles Among the Daughters of Licomedes* seems closer, aesthetically, to book illustration. In this regard, Brown had already noted that some of Ribera's drawings may have dealt with literary subjects, the significance of which is difficult to interpret without contemporary clues. Perhaps the only one that can be related to a literary topic is the *Woman Standing with a Man Lying at Her Feet*, which may be an illustration for the *Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso.

There are others in which the artist touches on the strange and grotesque, such as the *Figures Standing near a Fallen Giant* (cat. 116). The combination in this drawing of tiny figures and a giant exemplifies a theme that Ribera treated on several occasions;⁴⁷ these drawings should, perhaps, be viewed as interpretations of literary passages.

One final aspect of Ribera's drawings—perhaps the most mysterious and enigmatic to our eyes—has to do with scenes of violence, torture, and cruelty, undoubtedly the facet of Ribera's art that has stimulated the greatest interest, due to its supposedly exceptional nature. As in relation to the work of Hieronymus Bosch, there has been an effort to find in these drawings of Ribera a reflection of an obsessive, even aberrant, side of the artist's personality.⁴⁸ The scenes of violence and torture are related in technique and conception to those that more clearly treat genre subjects, such as the *Man and Page* in the collection of Kurt Meissner in Zurich⁴⁹ or the *Acrobats on a High Wire* (cat. 106) in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid. The use of pen and wash, the rapidity with which a fleeting moment is captured, and the clarity and definition of composition are similar to what is seen in the scenes of torture, which have been studied by Brown. His examples are *An Inquisition Scene* (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence), the *Man Bound to a Stake* (cat. 115), and other scenes of execution and torture; these have been explained as depictions of daily life in the violent Naples of the seventeenth century.⁵⁰ This explanation requires imagining Ribera holding a notebook in which he sketched the violence of the revolutionary crises of his time or being permitted entrance to the dungeons of the Inquisition in order to witness the torture and execution of the accused. One hundred and fifty years later, Goya represented similar scenes in his drawings, but these are explained today in the light of the vision of the contemporary historian⁵¹

and not as a record of the reality around him or as a personal obsession with violence and blood. In Italian drawing, which stressed the generic, the picturesque, the caricature, and the cruel, there is a tradition for such themes—linked to literature—the prime expression of which is found in the Florentine world of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁵² The cruelty of war, torture, and summary executions also appears in paintings of the seventeenth century, but most memorable are the famous engravings of the *Miseries of War* by the Frenchman Jacques Callot, who was active at the court of Florence. Perhaps Ribera, like Callot and Stefano della Bella, intended to make a series of such etchings to illustrate or denounce the violence of his time. In any event, the idea of Ribera as an unbalanced personality, prone to cruelty, is a superficial explanation for works that are indisputably well within a tradition that culminates in the eighteenth century with the Venetian capriccio.

1. As quoted in Vitzthum 1971, p. 75.

2. Mayer 1923, p. 210.

3. Sánchez Cantón 1964, p. 21.

4. Vitzthum 1963; Florence 1967; Vitzthum 1970a; idem 1971. Vitzthum has also brought to light other Ribera drawings in catalogues of other collections; see Brown 1973, p. 221.

5. Mahoney 1977 [1965].

6. Pérez Sánchez 1967, pp. 124–26.

7. Brown 1973.

8. J. Brown, "The Prints and Drawings of Ribera," in Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 79–90; see also Sestieri 1984.

9. Giuseppe Ceci, "Scrittori della storia dell'arte napoletana anteriori a De Dominici," in *Napoli nobilissima* 18 (1899), p. 165, as cited in Brown 1973 (in translation), p. 117, and n. 2; Brown's interpolation.

10. De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, p. 28; translation by Keith Christiansen.

11. Dezallier d'Argenville 1745, vol. 1, p. 339; cited in Brown 1973 (in translation), p. 117, and n. 4; Brown's interpolations.

12. Brown 1973, p. 118.

13. Ceán Bermúdez 1800, vol. 4, p. 189.

14. Vitzthum 1963, pp. 41–44.

15. Vitzthum 1970a, p. 413.

16. Mina Gregori, "Caravaggio and Naples," in London and Washington 1982–83, pp. 36–40.

17. Vitzthum 1963, p. 44.

18. Pérez Sánchez 1986. This refers to Spanish collections of drawings in other publications devoted to this subject: Madrid 1980, pp. 10–11.

19. Symposium on Ribera, course given by the Universidad Complutense de Madrid at the Escorial, August 23–30, 1991.

20. Regarding drawings by Juan de Juanes and Francisco Ribalta, see Pérez Sánchez 1972, pp. 28–29, 115–18; and Madrid 1980.

21. Vitzthum 1963, p. 46.

22. Brown 1973, p. 121.

23. Martínez 1866 [ca. 1675], p. 180.
24. Brown 1973, nos. 7–9, pp. 69–72, pls. 8–11, pp. 96–99.
25. Vitzthum 1971, p. 75.
26. Dezallier d'Argenville 1745, vol. 1, p. 339, as cited in Brown 1973 (in translation), p. 117, and n. 4.
27. Brown 1973, no. 36, p. 176, pl. 63, p. 214.
28. Ibid., pp. 119–36, in which the conserved drawings of Ribera are provided a chronology, being divided into several strictly delineated periods: 1620 to 1632, 1632 to 1635, 1635 to 1637, and 1637 to 1652.
29. Ibid., no. 9, p. 159, pl. 36, p. 187.
30. Ibid., nos. 1–4, pp. 153–55, pls. 28–31, pp. 179–82.
31. Ibid., no. 10, p. 160, pl. 37, p. 188.
32. Vitzthum 1963, p. 48; also see the *Saint Sebastian* on p. 49.
33. Brown 1982, p. 79, fig. 76.
34. Vitzthum 1971, p. 75.
35. Brown 1973, no. 6, p. 157, pl. 33, p. 184; and idem 1974, no. 1, p. 367, and pl. 25.
36. Brown 1974, no. 2, p. 367, and pl. 26.
37. Brown 1973, no. 8, p. 159, pl. 35, p. 186.
38. Respectively, Florence 1967, nos. 31, 32, p. 26; and Brown 1974, no. 4, p. 368, pl. 27b.
39. Brown 1973, no. 11, p. 161, pl. 38, p. 189, and no. 13, p. 162, pl. 40, p. 191.
40. Ibid., no. 16, p. 164, pl. 43, p. 194.
41. Brown 1982, p. 80, fig. 80.
42. Brown 1972.
43. Brown 1973, no. 32, p. 174, pl. 59, p. 210; no. 38, p. 178, pl. 65, p. 216.
44. As cited previously in this essay, n. 10.
45. Brown 1973, no. 22, p. 168, pl. 49, p. 200; no. 20, p. 166, pl. 47, p. 198.
46. Florence 1967, no. 40, p. 30.
47. Brown 1982, figs. 100–102, pp. 84–85.
48. An exact reference to these observations is found in Brown 1974, p. 371.
49. Brown 1982, p. 84, fig. 97.
50. Brown 1973, nos. 32, 36; idem 1982, p. 86, fig. 105; also see *ibid.*, pp. 86–87, figs. 104–9.
51. See Madrid 1989, pp. 123, 125–26, 326–27.
52. Gregori 1961.

89 *Head of a Satyr*

Red chalk on white paper laid down and restored on the upper and right-hand edges, 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (303 x 211 mm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1954 54.200

SEVERAL DRAWINGS of heads attributed to Ribera have been brought to light in the past few years.¹ Works of great beauty and expressiveness, they are very close in technique to this exceptional *Head of a Satyr*, until recently the only Ribera drawing of this kind known. The highly finished studies of heads were obviously an important facet of his production, although a facet little known today because of the few examples that have survived.

This drawing, as well as some of the early etchings, demonstrates Ribera's interest in facial expression, a preoccupation also evident in his paintings. The satyr's head gives an idea of the time and effort Ribera must have devoted to his pictorial compositions, as well as the careful analysis he had to make of his figures' heads so as to achieve the greatest realism, expression, and effect.

The *Head of a Satyr* is not related to any of Ribera's known works, although Brown has pointed out the similarity between it and the satyr who crowns Silenus in the *Drunken Silenus* (cat. 16), signed and dated 1626, now at the Capodimonte museum in Naples. This resemblance notwithstanding, the positions of the heads are not the same, and the satyr of the drawing is young, while that of the painting is quite aged. Moreover, Brown dates the drawing in the very early 1620s (a judgment supported by the use of red chalk in strong parallel lines and the pronounced outlines), which is earlier than the painting.

The satyr's open mouth, showing the teeth and the palate, recalls drawings by



Leonardo da Vinci, possibly Ribera's inspiration for the head. The same kind of mouth, even more open and expressive, appears in one of Ribera's etched studies of noses and mouths dated about 1622 (cat. 79).

MM

PROVENANCE

G. Piancastelli, Rome; E. D. Brandege, Boston; J. Scholz, New York.

REFERENCES

Brown 1972, p. 7, n. 1; idem 1973, no. 2, p. 154, pl. 29, p. 180.

1. See, for example, Brown 1973, no. 1, p. 153, fig. 28, p. 179.



90 *Study of Bat and Ears*

Red wash and red chalk on white paper
torn at the lower corners, $6\frac{1}{4} \times 11$ in.

(160 × 278 mm)

Inscribed in red chalk under the bat: FVLGET
SEMPER VIRTUS

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New
York; Rogers Fund, 1972 1972.77

STUDIES OF TWO different kinds are combined here on the same paper. There are drawings of two ears, which are related to Ribera's etching of 1622 depicting studies of ears viewed from various angles (cat. 77), and an extremely delicate drawing of a bat seen frontally, its wings spread, in which the artist analyzes all the anatomical details of that singular mammal in a prodigious and highly realistic manner.

The drawing, which probably should be dated 1622, is a good example of Ribera's careful, detailed style of the early years of the 1620s. The technique is exceptional: the red wash applied with a brush and highlighted with touches of red chalk produces a drawing of outstanding softness and delicacy. Ribera used that technique again only in a later drawing, the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* in the Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (fig. 34).

During the Renaissance, the bat was considered a benign animal, the symbol of the virginity of Diana and, along with her, the guardian of childbirth and child rearing. Ribera's interest in realistic detail makes this drawing one of the more crucial works in his graphic production, though an explanation of the subject is difficult to establish. According to Brown, it may have related to a commission from Valencia,

Ribera's birthplace, where the bat has appeared on the city's coat of arms since 1503. According to legend, that animal rested on the helmet of King James I of Aragon during his recapture of the city from the Moors. The Latin inscription, "Virtue shines forever," seems relevant to the bat and is possibly related to a heraldic inscription although not that on Valencia's coat of arms.

MM

PROVENANCE

Sale, Christie's, London, *Fine Old Master Drawings*, March 28, 1972, lot 79, pl. xvii.

REFERENCES

Brown 1972, p. 7, n. 3; idem 1973, no. 3, p. 154, pl. 30, p. 181.

91 *Saint Sebastian*

Pen and ink on white paper, $9\frac{7}{8} \times 6$ in.

(249 × 150 mm)

Inscribed in pen in the lower left corner: 218

The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

ACCORDING TO Jonathan Brown, this may be one of the earliest of Ribera's extant drawings, executed perhaps about 1620. It seems earlier than Ribera's numerous other studies of the same subject. The technique, in which meticulous pen strokes are applied in short parallel lines, reveals the hand of an artist who has not yet totally mastered the medium or developed his style. The contours of the body are thin, almost broken in the arms, and are hesitant and imprecise in a way that is far removed from the works that immediately follow, such as the *Saint Sebastian* in Toronto (cat. 93).

The figure of the saint also suggests that this is an early work. The excessively thin arms and the slight distortion in the foreshortening, most noticeable in the head and right leg, disappear in later drawings, in which the artist has mastered the representation of the nude figure. Nor has Ribera yet perfected the representation of various textures—one of the most outstanding characteristics of his mature graphic technique. The bark of the tree, the flesh of the saint's body, and the rock on which he rests his knee are not yet differentiated with the virtuosity displayed in his drawings only a few years later.

Nevertheless, the drawing is truly memorable for the expressiveness of the male body and the refined elegance of the composition. It is not related to any of the artist's known painted compositions of Saint Sebastian, but the pose of the young man—the raised arms, the body completely against the tree and half-kneeling on a rock—recalls the etching of the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* of 1624 (cat. 82), as well as the



sheet in the British Museum that is considered preparatory to it.

MM

PROVENANCE

Marquis de Lagoy (1764–1829; Lugt 1710); T. Dimsdale (1758–1823; Lugt 2426); Leslie.

REFERENCES

Parker 1938, vol. 1, no. 612; Durham 1962, no. 91; Harris 1963, fig. 11, p. 132; Paris 1967, p. 190; Stuttgart 1967, no. 125; Brown 1973, no. 6, p. 157.



92 *Grotesque Head*

Pen and brown ink on white paper, 10 × 6½ in. (253 × 165 mm)
Private collection

THIS DRAWING WAS first exhibited in 1984, when its connection with similar graphic works by Ribera was noted. It is not known whether these works—an assembly of examples of the ugly, the deformed, or the grotesque—are caricatures or studies from life. As they exist in a number of drawings as well as in two well-known etchings, such portrayals of peasants with goiters and warts were obviously important elements in Ribera's studies. They may reflect the influence of the scientific experimentalism of Giambattista della Porta. The drawing can be dated to about 1622, when Ribera was working on the same theme in etchings.

RM

EXHIBITIONS

Naples 1984, vol. 2, no. 3.61, p. 115; Basel 1989, no. 22, p. 44; New York 1992, no. 16, pp. 36–37.

93 *Saint Sebastian*

Pen and ink on white paper, 9⅞ × 6 in.
(231 × 150 mm)

Inscribed in pen in the lower right corner,
then crossed out: 2

Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto

THIS MUST BE one of Ribera's first representations of the subject of Saint Sebastian. Its pen technique relates it to other drawings that are dated with certainty to the very early 1620s. In this regard—as Jonathan Brown has pointed out—the present drawing is close to the *Tityus* (or



Prometheus) in the British Museum, the *Penitent Saint Jerome in a Landscape* (cat. 94), and the *Saint Sebastian* in Oxford (cat. 91). It is with the last that this drawing presents the greatest analogies in its modeling, since the pen work of fine lines, which are hatched, parallel, or form small rhomboids, is found in both. Here, however, one sees greater strength and freedom in the representation of anatomy. The artist has mastered a new formal idiom in which he joins realism in the representation of the body—a characteristic of all his work, particularly during the early period—with the abstraction needed to achieve greater expressive power. The energetic, zigzagging pen lines of the tree trunk to which the saint is tied seem to speak of a step forward in Ribera's draftsmanship. It therefore seems likely that this drawing is later than the similar *Saint Sebastian* in Oxford.

Among all the known drawings by Ribera portraying Saint Sebastian, this one stands out for the naturalness of the saint's posture: he is seated, with an arm tied above his head, which is raised, and looks upward. In this composition, Ribera avoids the excessively dramatic interpretation of the saint's martyrdom found in other drawings of the subject, in which the extreme strain of the saint's pose contributes to the violent tension of the scene. In this drawing, the sense of reality, closely copied from nature, is so evident that it supports the theory (see the essay by Mena Marqués) that Ribera used subjects of this kind as a vehicle for his "academic" studies of the nude.

MM

PROVENANCE

Vicomte de Montfort (Lugt 1035).

REFERENCES

"Recent Accessions of American and Canadian Museums," *Art Quarterly*, 34, 1971, p. 132, fig. 1; Brown 1973, under nos. 6, 7, 12; idem 1974, no. 1, p. 367, fig. 25.



94 *The Penitent Saint Jerome in a Landscape and a Study for a Kneeling Mary Magdalen*

Pen and ink on white paper, 9 × 6½ in.
(230 × 165 mm)

Inscribed at lower left: *Spagnoletto*
Mr. and Mrs. A. Stein, Switzerland

THE THEME OF Saint Jerome was one Ribera treated on numerous occasions in drawings, etchings, and paintings, beginning with a canvas made about 1616–17 and installed as part of the altarpiece of the Colegiata in Osuna (see cats. 13, 14). Both etchings of Saint Jerome Listening to the Trumpet of the Last Judgment (cats. 74, 75), the former dated 1621, are figurative

precedents for paintings by Italian and Spanish artists, among them Guercino, Mola, Preti, Francesco Antonio Pacheco, and Pereda.¹ In 1624, Ribera etched a *Saint Jerome Reading* (cat. 83). Datable to the same period—the first half of the 1620s—is the drawing shown here, in which the saint's posture closely recalls the figure in the Osuna painting.

Stylistic characteristics link this work to drawings of Saint Sebastian in Oxford (cat. 91), Toronto (cat. 93), and San Francisco (cat. 105), and to a *Saint Jerome Writing* in the Louvre, this last recently accepted as part of Ribera's body of graphic work.² Other drawings, such as the *Saint Jerome Praying* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) and *Saint Jerome Reading* (Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden), which was linked by Vitzthum³ to Ribera's engraving of 1624, are considered by Brown to be independent later treatments of the theme.⁴

In the present drawing, the artist has constructed the figure of the saint with careful, precise lines, using clear pen strokes to shade. Contrasting with that precision is an abbreviated, interrupted line that hints at an open landscape in a background similar to that found in the Osuna painting of 1616-17 and in etchings made about the same time. At the top of the sheet is a lightly sketched penitent Magdalen.

RM

1. Brown 1973, pp. 41-56.

2. Boubli, in Paris 1991a, no. 132, p. 255.

3. Vitzthum 1971, pp. 78-79.

4. Brown 1973, p. 35 n. 33; J. Stock, in Naples 1984, vol. 2, no. 3.63, p. 116.

PROVENANCE
Bloch collection.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1977, no. 88, pl. 78; Paris 1991b, no. 53.

REFERENCES
Brown 1973, no. 6, p. 157; idem 1974, no. 2, pp. 367-68, pl. 26.



95 Study for a Penitent Magdalen

Pen and brown ink on white paper, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ in. (90 × 71 mm)

Inscribed in pen in the center: *Spagnoletto*

Mr. and Mrs. A. Stein, Switzerland

ADOLPHE STEIN'S attribution of this small drawing to Ribera seems correct. The drawing reveals compositional and technical qualities typical of the artist that are found in other examples of his graphic production. A particularly convincing element is the nervous, broken line—thickening and becoming dense at certain points—that builds the outlines and hints at the drapery, in effect, defining the gestural nature of the figure. These characteristics make possible a comparison between this drawing and pen-and-ink drawings executed in the mid-1620s: such studies as *The Penitent Saint Jerome* (cat. 94), the Louvre's *Saint Jerome Writing*,¹ and, even more closely, the *Saint Apollonia* in San Francisco (cat. 104). This last represents the point of passage to a new phase in Ribera's stylistic development marked by a greater incisiveness and,

at the same time, a freer articulation of pen strokes.

RM

1. Boubli, in Paris 1991a, no. 132, p. 255.

PROVENANCE
Bloch collection.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1975, no. 92, pl. 75; Paris 1991b, no. 52.

96 Saint Sebastian

Red chalk, and pen and brown ink on white paper, $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (173 × 120 mm)

Inscribed in pen in the lower right corner:

Spagnolette F; and in another hand: 20

Mr. J. A. Gere, London

THIS VERY BEAUTIFUL drawing, seen for the first time in the 1967 exhibition of Neapolitan drawings in the Uffizi, Florence, is one of the most delicate and subtle works of Ribera's early graphic art. Although there is some uncertainty in the dating of Ribera's drawings, this work seems to be from the second half of the 1620s, and is particularly close to the *Saint Sebastian* in Princeton,¹ for which the artist also employed red chalk in an analogous manner. Here he does not insist so much on anatomical detail. Instead, he uses an energetic stroke for shadows and for the modeling of the figure, which accentuates the figure's movement and produces violent effects of light across the body, corresponding aesthetically to the play of chiaroscuro in his paintings of the same years.

The figure of the young Saint Sebastian, tied to the tree, neatly bisects the sheet into two right triangles. He is aligned with a diagonal culminating at the upper right with the hard, aged bark of the dry, jagged tree for which Ribera, with fine artistic sensibility, has used the rougher technique of



the pen, which contrasts with the softness of red chalk in the rest of the drawing. The artist does not linger much on the beauty of the modeling of the body but seems more interested in the psychological details of the martyrdom. The suffering saint, whom he presents here with nervous strokes of delicate beauty, is succored by the deity symbolized by the powerful light coming from above. Indeed, the barely delineated face seems to be breaking into a

slight smile of hope, and the left hand, extended in a gesture of surprise despite the cruel bindings that tie the arm to the tree trunk, expresses the wonder of a witness to a heavenly vision. The martyr's solitude, on which Ribera insists for this composition, contributes to the powerful concentration of the scene. The great illumined space of the background, the expressive use of which is one of the more interesting discoveries Ribera made in his

graphic work, is used by the artist on other occasions to achieve his characteristic effects of enormous space.

MM

1. Naples 1992, no. 2.20, p. 339.

REFERENCES

Florence 1967, under no. 32; Paris 1967, no. 20; Vitzthum 1970a, no. 20, p. 12, pl. III; Brown 1972, p. 6, fig. 7; *Italian Seventeenth-Century Drawings from British Private Collections*, exh. cat., Edinburgh, 1972, no. 94; Brown 1973, no. 17, p. 165, fig. 44, p. 195; Naples 1992, under no. 2.20, p. 339.

97 *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*

Pen and brown ink on white paper, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 10$ in. (195 × 253 mm)

Inscribed in pen in the upper right corner:

70889

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; inv. no. Dyce 610

IN TERMS OF ITS composition, this is Ribera's most complex drawing on the theme of the martyrdom of Saint Sebastian. Although the artist usually represented the figure of the saint alone, tied, and either standing or fallen at the base of a tree, the scene depicted here is more intricate and dramatic. The viewpoint from below reveals the saint tied to the upper branches of a tree in a strained position, while the group of executioners, portrayed in half length, surround the tree, pointing their arrows upward.

As with the other drawings of Saint Sebastian, this sheet does not relate to any of Ribera's paintings of the same subject. This particular composition, full of movement and complexity, stands apart from the other works by the artist, which are more austere and pared down to essentials in the representation of the event. Vitzthum and Brown date this drawing to between 1626 and 1630.



97

The artist has used pen alone to define outlines and shadows, and, with but a few strokes, he has suggested the plasticity of the figures and the movement of the hands. At the same time, the pen line is elaborate, Ribera having employed many curved, zig-zag, and repeated strokes for the outlines, a method he would eliminate in the years to come.

MM

PROVENANCE
Dyce collection.

REFERENCES
Florence 1967, p. 26, under no. 32; Vitzthum 1970a, p. 88, fig. 12; Brown 1972, p. 2, fig. 5; idem 1973, no. 12, p. 161, pl. 39, p. 190.

98 *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*

Pen and brown ink on yellowed white paper, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ in. (142 × 168 mm)
Signed by Ribera in various places with his monogram, *JRA*, and the initials *J* and *E*; in the lower part: [— —] *ph de Ribera*; in the center: *12 Rs*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1919 19.150

RIBERA EXECUTED TWO other known drawings on this subject, which is recognizable as the Crucifixion of Saint Peter by its depiction of the apostle head downward because he did not consider himself worthy of dying as Christ had died. The two drawings, one in the Albertina, Vienna,

and the second in the Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (fig. 34), include figures of the executioners and are more complete compositions. The present drawing, however, is characterized by its light, abbreviated pen technique; it is a sketch or first thought by the artist, who used the paper to scrawl his name and initials several times. The great freedom that marks the work links the master's style of the late 1620s with that of the early 1630s.

The three drawings (this and the two more finished ones) are not related to any of the artist's known paintings, nor do they seem to constitute a series of preparatory studies for one work. They were probably executed several years apart with Ribera returning to the subject for the many oppor-



tunities it afforded for studying the nude body stretched out on the cross.

A painting of this subject by Luca Giordano in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice, includes elements from the three Ribera drawings. According to Brown, the presence of those elements suggests either that Giordano was working after a lost painting by Ribera or that the three drawings were available to Giordano, as seems to have been the case.¹

MM

1. Brown 1973, p. 163.

PROVENANCE
R. Ederheimer.

REFERENCES

Sánchez Cantón 1930, vol. 3, fig. CCXVII; Brown 1973, no. 14, pp. 162–63, pl. 41, p. 192; Mahoney 1977, no. 71, n. 3.

99 *Christ Beaten by a Tormentor*

Red chalk on paper, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$ in.

(185 × 213 mm)

Inscribed in pencil: *Spagnoletto*

The British Museum, London; 1946.7.13.1411

THIS FORCEFUL DRAWING, convincingly dated to about 1626 when compared with a highly finished, dated chalk drawing of Saint Albert by Ribera, also in the British Museum (1850.7.13.4), is of particular interest for its treatment of one of the most popular themes of Caravaggesque painting, Christ crowned with thorns or mocked by Roman soldiers. Most pictures of this subject by Caravaggio's followers—those by Bartolo-

meo Manfredi and Valentin, for example—derive from a painting in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna that has plausibly been identified with a work by Caravaggio listed in the 1638 inventory of the collection of Vincenzo Giustiniani, an admirer of Ribera as well as of Caravaggio.¹ In these, Christ is shown just over half length, his nude torso leaning to the right with his head in three-quarter view and his arms bound at the wrists. In Ribera's conception, Christ is shown full length, leaning to the left, with his arms arranged in an almost balletic fashion. In these respects his point of departure must have been a 1606 print by Annibale Carracci² that enjoyed an equally wide success (it seems, for example, to stand behind Jan Janssens's *Christ*



99

Crowned with Thorns in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Ghent, and even Orazio Riminaldi's otherwise highly Caravaggesque painting of the *Martyrdom of Saint Cecilia* in Florence).

One of the expressive features of Carracci's composition that must have attracted Ribera was the presence of a brutish figure who grasps Christ's head by the hair. In Ribera's hands this motif—the contrast between the noble, suffering Christ and the bestiality of his tormentors is typical of Carracci's late work—becomes the basis of a dramatically charged scene in which Christ's torturer, reduced to a single figure, has mounted the ashlar block to pummel Christ's head. This combination of Caravaggesque realism and echoes of a classical equivoque epitomizes Ribera's work at this moment.

It is usually supposed that the drawing is preparatory to a painting, but it is worth considering whether Ribera may not have

had a print in mind, perhaps inspired by the example of the Carracci.

KC

1. See M. Gregori, in New York 1985, pp. 316–18, and, most recently, in Florence 1992, pp. 238–39. The date and attribution of the Vienna *Crowning with Thorns* have been debated; I believe it to be by Caravaggio and to date to about 1603.
2. See De Grazia 1984, no. 21, pp. 245–46 [341].

PROVENANCE

Woodburn; Phillipps; Fenwick.

REFERENCES

Popham 1935, p. 235; Brown 1972, p. 7 n. 3; idem 1973, p. 159; idem 1974, no. 3, p. 368; idem, in Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 7.

99a *A Noble and His Page*

Brush and red wash on paper, 90½ × 52⅞ in. (230 × 133 mm)

Signed and dated: *Joseph de Ribera ft. 1628*;

in another hand: *Jose y ana(?)*

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

Illustrated p. 50

THE SIGNATURE and date bear comparison with those on two drawings in the Uffizi (Gregori 1967, no. 222) and appear to be autograph. Brown has dated the drawing to the late 1620s on grounds of style, thus confirming the inscribed date.

The technique of brush and red wash is unusual in the seventeenth century and was employed elsewhere by Ribera only in a drawing of a hermit in the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, and a *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* (fig. 34) in the Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, although in neither is there the fluency and coloristic brilliance of the Getty drawing. The composition is no less exceptional in Ribera's oeuvre, relating to works in a semigenre, semifantastical, caricatural vein. The squaring would suggest that Ribera intended to enlarge the drawing, perhaps for a canvas. The drawing appears to be cut at the left and at the top, making the subject even more difficult to interpret. Stock advanced the hypothesis that it relates to Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, but the conventional depiction of these two characters argues against this idea, and, indeed, the earliest illustrations of Cervantes's book date only from the eighteenth century. Moreover, the noble has an Oriental appearance (note his turban and pointed shoes). Whatever the case, the drawing has an evident humorous accent typical of one facet of Ribera's drawings.

MM

PROVENANCE

Kurt Meissner; Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1990, lot 61.

REFERENCES

Gregori 1967, no. 222; California 1969, no. 88; Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 85, fig. 97; Naples 1984, no. 3.64.



99b *Fantastic Scene*

Pen and ink, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (184 × 110 mm)

Signed in ink in lower right: *Jusepe Ra.*;
inscribed in ink in lower right: *orig.*

Private collection, Madrid

AMONG THE MOST SINGULAR and imaginative of Ribera's drawings, this work should be seen in relation to two other works by Ribera: the *Grotesque Head with Figures* (Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia) and the *Man in a Toga* (cat. 114). In all of these, a single figure of great size is mounted by small, naked figures, whose teasing presence he does not acknowledge and, indeed, appears unaware of. The idea of the land of the giants and the Lilliputians, given definitive expression in Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), probably grew from a popular tradition known to Ribera.

In this scene the nobleman, dressed in contemporary clothes but with his face covered by a punchinello's mask, is presented as a caricature. He is assaulted by six small men whose goal seems to be to climb on his head. One ascends his unsheathed sword, while another stands on his right hand and grabs his nose to scale his face. Four or five others have already arrived at the top of his hat and clamber over each other.

The spirited pen work, with short, zig-zag strokes used both to model the figure and to confer a suggestion of movement, is typical of a technique Ribera began to employ in the late 1620s.

MM

REFERENCES

Brown 1973, p. 148, fig. 47, p. 151; McKim Smith 1974, no. 34, p. 61; Brown 1982, p. 85, fig. 100.

100 *Man Seated, with Cherubim*

Pen and brown wash on white paper, $7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (181 × 115 mm)

Two upper corners cut off

Inscribed in pen below: *del Spagnoletto da Napoli*

Courtauld Institute Galleries, The Witt Collection, London; inv. no. 369

THIS IS A DRAWING that creates an unusual effect through the joining of two unrelated themes, the two beautiful cherubs' heads—probably preparatory sketches for the glory of a saint or for an *Immaculate Conception*—and the figure of an old man clothed in a tunic and seated on a stone, his foot resting on another stone while he reads a piece of paper.

The superb head of the man, with its sharp profile, verges on caricature, although this does not seem to have been the artist's intention. It is impossible to establish whether this was a portrayal of an actual person or an invention by Ribera preparatory to a figure of an ancient philosopher—an important theme during the 1620s.

The drawing should be dated to the late 1620s for the energetic line in the delineation of the shadows and the extremely fine and expressive characterization of the figures.

MM

PROVENANCE

Sir Peter Lely (Lugt 2092).

REFERENCES

Handlist 1956, p. 161; Brown 1974, no. 8, p. 369, pl. 29b.



101a *Men Fighting*

101b *Men Fighting*

Pen and ink on white paper, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in. (80 × 56 mm) each

Mr. and Mrs. A. Stein, Switzerland

HALFWAY BETWEEN life studies and inventions, these economically drawn but lively figures should be dated to the end of the 1620s. Numerous other sheets of a similar linear and schematic quality can be associated with the present drawings: the *Group of Figures Around a Blacksmith* in the Uffizi; the *Man with a Bow* in a private collection in Turin;¹ the *Noble and His Page* (cat. 99a); and the *Man Dragging a Deer Carcass* (cat. 107). All of these hover between studies from life and creations of the imagination.

RM



102 *Study of a Man with Upraised Hand (Orator)*

Pen and ink on white paper, $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.
(195 × 140 mm)

Inscribed in pencil on verso: *Spagnoletto*; and
in pen: *Spagnoletto 195*

Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts,
California Palace of the Legion of Honor,
San Francisco; acc. no. 1963.24.615

THIS STUDY should be dated to the mid-1620s, when Ribera executed numerous drawings of great force and expressiveness in pen and ink. However, this particular work is distinguished from the others by its unique mastery of the medium employed. Each of the lines is essential; each is filled with an expressive charge that contributes toward defining this personage. Ribera's figure of a classical "philosopher" lies somewhere between reality and caricature and at the same time impresses the viewer with its truthfulness.

In a manner very different from that of Poussin, Ribera also re-creates the classical world, and in these few lines he demonstrates his profound knowledge of a world he must have studied in Rome and in Naples, near which Pompeii and Herculaneum were still hidden but where nevertheless Ribera continued to be attracted to the study of antiquity. This *Orator* is undoubtedly the product of Ribera's imagination, although it would seem to be a faithful copy of one of the austere Republican bronzes that have transmitted the heroic images of Roman senators to us. However, the effect of grandeur is lessened by the expression of the face, lips tightened in a grimace of obstinacy, and the disproportionate size of the hand. Both suggest that the figure is actually a caricature of an orator or philosopher.

Vitzthum connected this work with the numerous philosophers painted by Ribera throughout his career, especially in the late



1620s. Brown suggests instead that it is an independent work, since it includes none of the specific attributes of those figures.

MM

PROVENANCE

J. G. Cogswell; M. L. Schiff; M. S. Achenbach.

REFERENCES

Hellman 1915, no. 255, pl. IX; Toronto 1970, no. 39;
Brown 1973, no. 16, p. 164, pl. 43, p. 194.

103 *Saint Sebastian*

Red chalk on white paper, with paper
unevenly cut on the lower margin and laid
down, $10\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. (255 × 165 mm)

Indiana University Art Museum, Bloom-
ington; acc. no. D.1957.7

THIS IS UNDOUBTEDLY one of the most beautiful drawings by Ribera, as much for the precise and rigorous use of red chalk as for the pose chosen by the artist for the representation of Saint Sebastian. The saint is shown seated on the ground, facing forward, with his arms tied to the tree above

1. For the Uffizi and Turin drawings, see Naples 1992, nos. 2.12, 2.21.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1986, nos. 55–56; Paris 1991b, no. 55.



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his head, yet about to slip loose from the ropes.

The drawing has been dated to the mid-1620s because of its technical similarity to the *Saint Albert* in the British Museum, dated 1626. There, too, the artist

produces a subtle effect by using red chalk to model the body in broad, uniform strokes or short, fine, and closely parallel lines.

Here, more explicitly than elsewhere, Ribera has used the subject of Saint Sebastian as an excuse to draw an academic male

nude. He is particularly concerned with the position of the fallen body and the foreshortening of the legs, which are viewed from a difficult angle. As Brown has noted, the artist has excluded references to the martyrdom (such as arrows), thereby emphasizing the simple beauty of the nude body as it relaxes after tension.

Although the drawing does not correspond exactly to any of the known paintings of Saint Sebastian following his martyrdom or attended by the holy women, Ribera must have had it or another like it in mind for such compositions as the one in the Berlin Museum,¹ dated 1636, and the one in the Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Valencia,² which is a variant or copy of a lost original.

MM

1. Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 99.

2. Ibid., no. 352.

PROVENANCE

The mark of an unidentified collector on the mount: "LF"; Schaeffer Galleries.

REFERENCES

Newark 1960, no. 36; Moskowitz 1962, vol. 4, no. 931; Sánchez Cantón 1964, pl. 19; Florence 1967, under no. 32; Wichita 1967-68, no. 38, pp. 78-79; Pérez Sánchez 1970, pp. 88-89, fig. 9; Brown 1972, p. 7, n. 1; idem 1973, no. 10, p. 160, pl. 37, p. 188; Pérez Sánchez 1986, p. 206.

104 *Saint Apollonia*

Pen and brown ink on white paper, 7½ × 5⅞ in. (188 × 128 mm)

Inscribed in pen on verso: *Guido Reni*
Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts,
California Palace of the Legion of Honor,
San Francisco; acc. no. 1963.24.620

WALTER VITZTHUM correctly identified this drawing as by Ribera, rejecting an old attribution to Guido Reni, and dating it to

the second half of the 1620s, shortly after the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* of 1626, in the British Museum. The drawing depicts Saint Apollonia, who is recognizable by the attributes of her martyrdom—the pincers used to extract her teeth. It may have originally been conceived as a preparation for a painting that has not come down to us.

The drawing is one of the most beautiful from the early years of the artist's career, in both sureness of technique and the elegant disposition of the figure in space and the harmonious fall of her robe. This

rapid sketch has the severe, classical elegance of a sculpture, and in that regard it is useful to compare it to one of the most famous works of the time, the *Santa Susana* by François Duquesnoy in the Roman church of Santa Maria di Loreto, which was executed between 1629 and 1633 and inspired by the classical figure of Urania in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. Ribera's drawing shares with Duquesnoy's sculpture elements singled out by the theoretician G. P. Bellori that create "the perfect synthesis of a study of nature and the idea of antiquity."¹ Ribera's works reveal

the same theoretical and practical formation evident in the most important painters and sculptors of seventeenth-century Italy. It is significant that this drawing had been credibly attributed to Guido Reni, yet in the intense plasticity of the figure, produced by the parallel strokes of the pen, it approaches instead the drawing style of the best sculptors of the period. In this case the similarities to the graphic style of the sculptor Alessandro Algardi are noteworthy.

MM

1. Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori, e architetti moderni*, ed. Evelina Borea (Turin, 1976), p. 291.

PROVENANCE

J. G. Cogswell; M. L. Schiff; M. S. Achenbach

REFERENCES

Hellman 1915, no. 133; Vitzthum 1971, p. 62, fig. 15; Brown 1973, no. 11, p. 161, pl. 38, p. 189; G. McKim Smith 1974, no. 34, fig. 34; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, p. 90, fig. G; Pérez Sánchez 1986, p. 206.



105 Saint Sebastian

Pen and brown ink on white paper,
7⅞ × 5⅛ in. (186 × 130 mm)

Inscribed in pen in the lower right corner:

Giuseppe de . . .

Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco; Cogswell 212

WALTER VITZTHUM considered the inscription on this drawing to be the original signature of Ribera, although Jonathan Brown was inclined to consider it a later addition because Ribera always used *Jusepe* or signed in Latin. Nevertheless, the traditional attribution to Ribera is not in question, as the drawing is closely related to other pen-and-ink sketches of the late 1620s by him.

This is another variation on the painter's favorite subject: Saint Sebastian tied to



the tree and awaiting his martyrdom. The extremely rapid, light pen technique is similar in execution to the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (cat. 97). The saint, facing forward, is tied to the tree, his body arched as he raises his head, his left hand extended, in the same attitude of amazement at the heavenly vision accompanying him in his torment that Ribera repeated in the *Saint Sebastian* of the J. Gere collection (cat. 96). The present drawing is not directly related to any paintings of the subject.

Despite previous attempts to date this drawing to the mid-1630s, it is earlier, probably from the end of the 1620s. Ribera handles the pen with great speed but executes all the contours with absolute precision. The use of small strokes, which are almost like accents, suggests an earlier period in his graphic development. Also characteristic of both pen and red-chalk drawings of this period is the depiction of the figure's right shoulder: the rapid zigzag, lending volume and movement to that portion of the anatomy, is found also in the two draw-

ings discussed above. This type of pen or chalk stroke appears to be typical of the artist's technique during this period and can be seen in such drawings as the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (cat. 98) and the *Sleeping Nude with Cupids and a Satyr* in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (fig. 32).

The tension of the expectant body and the saint's nervous, anticipatory excitement seem intensified by the pen line itself, surpassing the representations of the same subject drawn in red chalk. This nervous, agitated pen line suggests that we are seeing the artist's initial idea for the composition, as if he were translating his mental vision of the subject onto paper. In the red-chalk studies, on the other hand, the suggestion that he copied from nature, perhaps from a model in the studio, is much stronger.

MM

PROVENANCE

J. G. Cogswell; M. L. Schiff; M. S. Achenbach.

REFERENCES

Hellman 1915, no. 247, pl. LVI; Paris 1967, no. 13; Toronto 1970, no. 38; Brown 1973, no. 13, p. 162, pl. 40, p. 191.

106 *Acrobats on a High Wire*

Pen and wash on white paper, somewhat yellowed 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (257 × 198 mm)
Inscribed in pencil in lower left corner, barely legible: *Joseph de Ribera*
Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid; inv. no. 2208

THIS DELICATE pen-and-wash drawing of a scene from daily life is so unusual that the attribution to Ribera has often been doubted. However, the recent discovery of other drawings with similar characteristics has led to its definitive inclusion in the artist's oeuvre.



The immediacy of the rapid and subtle strokes of the pen, which leave the outlines open, and the wash, which accentuates the luminosity of the drawing, are extremely effective. The result evokes the sensation that a scene of popular amusement has been taken directly from the street life of Naples. This luminous and playful vision of reality is undoubtedly what has led this drawing to be described occasionally as foreshadowing the Tiepolos.

The technique and style of the drawing, which link it to others that depict similar popular themes and customs, have led Brown correctly to date it to about 1634–35.

MM

PROVENANCE

Royal collection, Palazzo del Pardo.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1991a, no. 134.

REFERENCES

Tormo y Monzó 1929, no. 150; Velasco y Aguirre 1941, no. 82; Sánchez Cantón 1964; Pérez Sánchez 1967, p. 126; idem 1970, no. 82, pl. IX; Brown 1973, no. 25, p. 170, pl. 52, p. 203; Madrid 1980, no. 221, p. 101, pl. XLXX; Pérez Sánchez 1986, p. 207.

107 *Man Dragging a Deer Carcass*

Pen and brown ink on white paper, $3\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ in. (95 × 128 mm)

Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome; inv. no. 124844 EC.

IN KEEPING with the naturalistic trends of the time and inspired by the Bolognese school of drawing, Ribera executed numerous drawings, such as this, that attest to his



fascination with real subjects. Ribera's interest in popular themes from everyday life led him to translate his observations with a free, lively hand. Some other similar works are *Man Leading a Blind Monk* in the Steiner collection;¹ *Group of Figures Around a Blacksmith* in the Uffizi (12341F); *Turkish Dignitary* and *Acrobats on a High Wire* (cat. 106), both in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid; and *Woman with a Child* in a private American collection.² Brown dates the drawing shown here to between 1634 and 1637, along with a dozen or so other drawings, all executed in the same concise style, in which a single outline, broken and almost intermittent, builds the image. Like other drawings once in the Corsini collection, this work was once attributed to Salvator Rosa, a misconception corrected by Mahoney.

RM

1. Felton and Jordan 1982, fig. 95, p. 83.

2. Naples 1992, no. 2.52.

PROVENANCE

Corsini collection.

REFERENCES

Mahoney 1965, no. 7.12, p. 55; Brown 1973, pp. 127–29; idem 1974, no. 14, p. 370, fig. 32b; Brown, in Felton and Jordan 1982, fig. 94, p. 83.

108 *The Immaculate Conception*

Pen and brown ink on white paper, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. (144 × 185 mm)

Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome; inv. no. 124838 EC.

THIS STUDY BELONGS to the small number of drawings by Ribera that can be related to a specific painting, in this case *The Immaculate Conception* for the large altarpiece of the Church of Las Agustinas Recoletas in Salamanca, signed and dated 1635 (fig. 17). The connection—made by Vitzthum—was based on an insight of Mahoney, who rejected the drawing's traditional attribution to Salvator Rosa.

Here, Ribera refines the composition, consisting of the figure of the Virgin surrounded by putti holding Marian attributes, in a version that is very close to the finished painting. In technique, this sheet is rather novel, as the artist has abandoned the use of wash for a completely linear treatment in which the outlines of the figures are conveyed through tremulous and vibrating broken and fragmentary lines. The resulting luminosity anticipates that found in the



painting. In another drawing of the same subject and date from the same collection (inv. no. 124833 EC.), Ribera depicts the Virgin on a crescent moon, with God the Father and putti above.

Another drawing, in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York, depicts the same subject. First Vitzthum, then Ferrari, considered that work another early concept for the Salamanca painting.¹ Brown, however, argues that the stylistic peculiarities of the Cooper-Hewitt drawing support a later date, toward the end of the 1640s.²

There are paintings by Ribera of the same subject and approximately the same date, in the Harrach collection in Schloss Rohrau (cat. 42) and in the Kress Collection in the Columbia Museum of Art and Science in South Carolina, as well as in the Prado. In 1646, Ribera painted another large *Immaculate Conception* for the Church of Santa Isabel in Madrid, but this work was destroyed during the Spanish Civil War.

RM

1. Naples 1992, cat. 2.51.
2. Brown 1973, no. 37, pp. 177–78.

PROVENANCE
Corsini collection.

EXHIBITIONS
Florence 1967, no. 38, p. 29.

REFERENCES
Brown 1973, pp. 129, 172–73, no. 29, pl. 56; Milan 1980, p. 65, fig. 42.

109 *Putti and Cherubim*

Pen, brown ink, and wash on white paper, 4¼ × 3 in. (109 × 77 mm)
Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome;
inv. no. 124842 EC.

AFTER MAHONEY identified this drawing as a work by Ribera, Brown, following José Milicua's suggestion, specified it as a study for the figures of putti that appear in

the 1635 painting of the *Immaculate Conception*, made for the Church of Las Agustinas Recoletas in Salamanca (fig. 17). The most convincing comparison is with the figure of the putto that holds an olive branch in its left hand, which appears alone in the painted version. The other studies on the sheet can be loosely linked to the development of the painting. Other drawings for the painting can be found in the Corsini collection (see also cat. 108).

RM

PROVENANCE
Corsini collection.

REFERENCES
Brown 1973, nos. 28, 29, pp. 172–73; idem 1974, no. 13, p. 370, fig. 32a; Mahoney 1977, no. 7.5; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, no. 92, p. 107.

110 *Study for a Group of Angels*

Pen and wash on white paper, 3¼ × 6¼ in. (82 × 160 mm)
Inscribed in pen on recto: *Scuola bolognese*;
on verso: *Scarsellino*
Mr. and Mrs. A. Stein, Switzerland

THIS DRAWING, once ascribed to the Bolognese school, is now correctly attributed to Ribera. It is characterized by an extremely fluid and simplified draftsmanship and defined in terms of light and shadow by an application of wash. Its composition can be compared to the cluster of angels in the *Apotheosis of San Gennaro*, painted in 1636 for the Church of Las Agustinas Recoletas in Salamanca.¹ The close affinity between the two putti here drawn in full and those of the painting in Salamanca—even to the detail of the dark wash cloud that hides part of the putti in flight—rules out any attempt to relate the drawing to two other, almost contemporary canvases. The two, which also include groups of angels,



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are the renowned *Immaculate Conception* for the same Salamanca church (fig. 17) and the *Assumption of the Magdalen* now in the Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (cat. 32).

RM

1. Paris 1991b, no. 54.

PROVENANCE

De Clementi collection(?) (Lugt 521a).

EXHIBITIONS

London 1986, p. 54, fig. 34; Paris 1991b, no. 54.



110

since they appear to be in his inventory of 1653. They were then donated by Pedro de Oreitia y Vergara, a minister of Charles II of Spain, to the Convent of San Domingo de Vitoria in 1694.¹

In its striking linear description of the two apostles, this drawing illustrates the high level of achievement reached in the evolution of Ribera's graphic style from the mid-1630s. The Saint Paul, at the left, which is very close to the figure in the painted version, is so sketchy as to be barely legible.² The figure of Saint Peter is repeated twice,

with that on the right closer to the final, painted version. It was typical for Ribera to produce studies of the positions of single figures during this period.

RM

1. Naples 1992, nos. 1.69, 1.70.
2. Brown 1973, p. 129.

PROVENANCE

Corsini collection.

EXHIBITIONS

Florence 1967, no. 39, p. 29, fig. 23.

REFERENCES

Brown 1973, p. 129, fig. 34; idem, in Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 80–81, figs. 81, 82.

111 *Study for Saints Peter and Paul*

Pen and brown ink on white paper, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ in. (121 × 169 mm)

Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome:
inv. no. 124843 F.C.

VITZTHUM RECOGNIZED that this study relates to two known paintings by Ribera, *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, both dated 1637 (Museo de Bellas Artes de Álava, Vitoria). These were previously thought to have been painted for the duke of Medina de las Torres, viceroy of Naples from 1637 to 1644, but they were probably among the last works commissioned by the count of Monterrey,



112 *Saint John Holding the
Body of Christ* (Study for the
Pietà)

Pen, brown ink, and wash on white paper,
5½ × 4¼ in. (141 × 121 mm)

Inscribed at lower left: *R*

Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome;
inv. no. 124810 E.C.

ONCE ATTRIBUTED TO Salvator Rosa because of the false monogram that appears at the lower left, this drawing was recognized by Vitzthum as a study for figures that appear in the *Pietà* (fig. 13), signed and dated 1637, painted by Ribera

for the sacristy of the Certosa di San Martino and now in the Cappella del Tesoro. The drawing, which is precisely datable, is an important document, as it can be related stylistically to some twelve drawings grouped together by Brown, all of which display an analogous graphic technique—a fragmentary and nervous line present in the sheets that depict the *Immaculate Conception* (cat. 108), *Apollo and Marsyas* (fig. 35), and the *Saints Peter and Paul* (cat. 111), also part of the Istituto Nazionale's collection.

Here, in addition to the broken line, Ribera has again used wash to indicate the parts of the figure in shadow, resulting in a refined chiaroscuro and a description of light that fully conveys the intense emotionality of the episode illustrated. It is worthwhile

recalling that De Dominici, describing the composition in the Certosa di San Martino, emphasized how the figure of Christ, "in this position, receives the full force of the light on his chest and face," and how this figure was painted with "the usual impasto, but [is] noble, tender, and delicate" and that "everything is sorrowful, in the representation of this sacred and fateful tragedy."¹

In his account book, Antonio Ruffo, Ribera's patron in Sicily, claimed that he received a drawing, sent by the artist, for a painting of the *Pietà* he had commissioned. However, this painting has not been identified among the numerous extant versions or copies of the subject that relate to Ribera's activity.²

RM

1. De Dominici 1742–45, vol. 3, pp. 13, 14.

2. Ruffo 1916, pp. 44–46.

PROVENANCE

Corsini collection.

REFERENCES

Vitzthum 1971, p. 83, fig. 16; Brown 1973, p. 129, n. 8; Pérez Sánchez and Spinosa 1978, no. 122, p. 112; Brown, in Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 82, fig. 89.



113 *Woman Standing with a
Man Lying at Her Feet*

Pen and brown wash on white paper, 5⅞ ×
6¼ in. (129 × 158 mm)

Inscribed in pen in lower left corner:

Salvator Rosa; at the right: 265

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich;
inv. no. 2758

THE ENIGMATIC SUBJECT of this drawing has not yet been clarified. A standing young woman, dressed in a light tunic that exposes one breast, raises above her head a kind of cape with two openings into which her arms are inserted. A nude man lies at her feet, either asleep or dead. The location of the scene is undefined: it could be



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placed either indoors or out, by day or by night.

Despite the freedom and spontaneity of the drawing, the expression on the woman's face has been realized with indisputable mastery; she seems to be smiling sweetly as she looks down at the man at her feet. Vitzthum suggested that the subject is a "Bravo who hides himself at the side of the body of his victim," referring to the type of theme engendered by the turbulent Neapolitan street life of the seventeenth century. Brown, however, following a suggestion of Steven Orso, believes the subject to be mythological, possibly representing Diana and Endymion, since the young woman's clothing, which leaves one breast uncovered, recalls the floating veils of the Huntress in representations of her found on Roman sarcophagi. The undeniably classical nature of the drapery and the nudity of the man reinforce the interpreta-

tion of the subject as one from classical mythology, which Ribera typically treated according to his own personal vision.

However, the standing figure's clothing, drawn quite legibly despite the light touch of the pen, seems to consist neither of a light tunic nor a skirt, but, rather, pants, which convey a certain oriental character. These pants give rise to another possibility, that this is a scene from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. In Book 16, the magician Armida shuts up the hero, Rinaldo, in her palace. The description of the smile she directs to her loved one and their amorous games could correspond to the scene shown here. Likewise, the ornamental belt the artist emphasizes could reflect the following lines from this book: "Ma bel sopra ogni fregio il cinto mostra / che nè pur nuda ha di lasciar costume" and "ne formò quel sì mirabil cinto / di ch'ella aveva il bel fianco succinto."¹ The poet is

referring to the magic belt that Armida wore, which caused anyone she desired to fall in love with her.

The drawing can be dated to the end of the 1630s, when the outlines of Ribera's pen-and-ink drawings began to appear wavy and broken, interrupting the continuity of the figures' silhouettes.

MM

1. Bk. 16, cantos 24, 24.

PROVENANCE

Elector Karl Theodor of the Palatinate.

REFERENCES

Florence 1967, p. 34, under no. 48; Brown 1973, no. 26, pp. 170-71, fig. 53, p. 204; Mahoney 1977, no. 710.

114 *Man in a Toga, a Small Man Holding a Banner Is Seated on His Head*

Pen and brown wash on white paper, 8 1/8 x 4 in. (212 x 102 mm)

On the standard held by the small figure, perhaps by Ribera's hand, in pen: *Niccolò Simonelli*; on the back: *Simonelli*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1981.1981.395

THIS DRAWING has recently been recognized as by Ribera. It is one of his late genre scenes with a strong element of the grotesque or caricatural. Such scenes have proven difficult to interpret, for the necessary clues to their explanation, clear at the time the drawing was done, have been lost or forgotten.

The drawing depicts a man wrapped in a wide cloak or toga of classical character. On his bald head appears the small seated figure of a nude man holding a standard on which is written, perhaps by Ribera him-



self, the name Nicolò Simonelli. Jonathan Brown has discussed this Roman collector of the seventeenth century, who was connected to the households of Cardinals Brancacci and Chigi. Giovanni Battista Passeri, in his *Vite dei pittori, scultori, et architetti* (dall'anno 1641 sino all'anno 1673) (Rome, 1775), mentions him as a patron of Salvator Rosa in 1638, implying a connection with the artistic world of Naples. Thus his acquaintance with Ribera would not be surprising. It is also known that he had some contacts with the artists Pier Francesco Mola and Pieter van Laer, a Dutch artist working in Rome. Because of Simonelli's relationship with the Neapolitan world and the inscription of his name on the standard, we may suppose that the drawing was executed directly for him, although its significance is obscure.

The technique and style of the drawing situate it about 1640, or in the final years of the previous decade, at the time when the Roman collector was apparently in contact with Salvator Rosa. The drawing, although fairly finished, does not seem to be an independent work intended as a gift, but rather preparatory to a book illustration, a facet of Ribera's artistic activity that is still virtually unstudied. It is undoubtedly related to a series of strange sketches of figures of immense size on which small figures climb, as if in anticipation of the literary theme of Gulliver. This drawing is perhaps the most mysterious of this group, given the enigmatic attitude of the man in the toga; he stares out at the spectator and, in his distance and reserve, appears to have been "conquered" by the small figure who, as if assaulting a fortress, plants the standard on the large figure's head.

MM

PROVENANCE

Nicolò Simonelli (active 1630–60); sale, Sotheby's, London, April 9, 1981, lot 89.

REFERENCES

Brown, in Felton and Jordan 1982, pp. 85, 89, n. 57, fig. 102, p. 84.

115 *Man Bound to a Stake*

Pen and brown wash, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. (216 × 163 mm)

Signed in pen in the lower right-hand

corner: *Josepe de Ribera espa / ñol / .F*

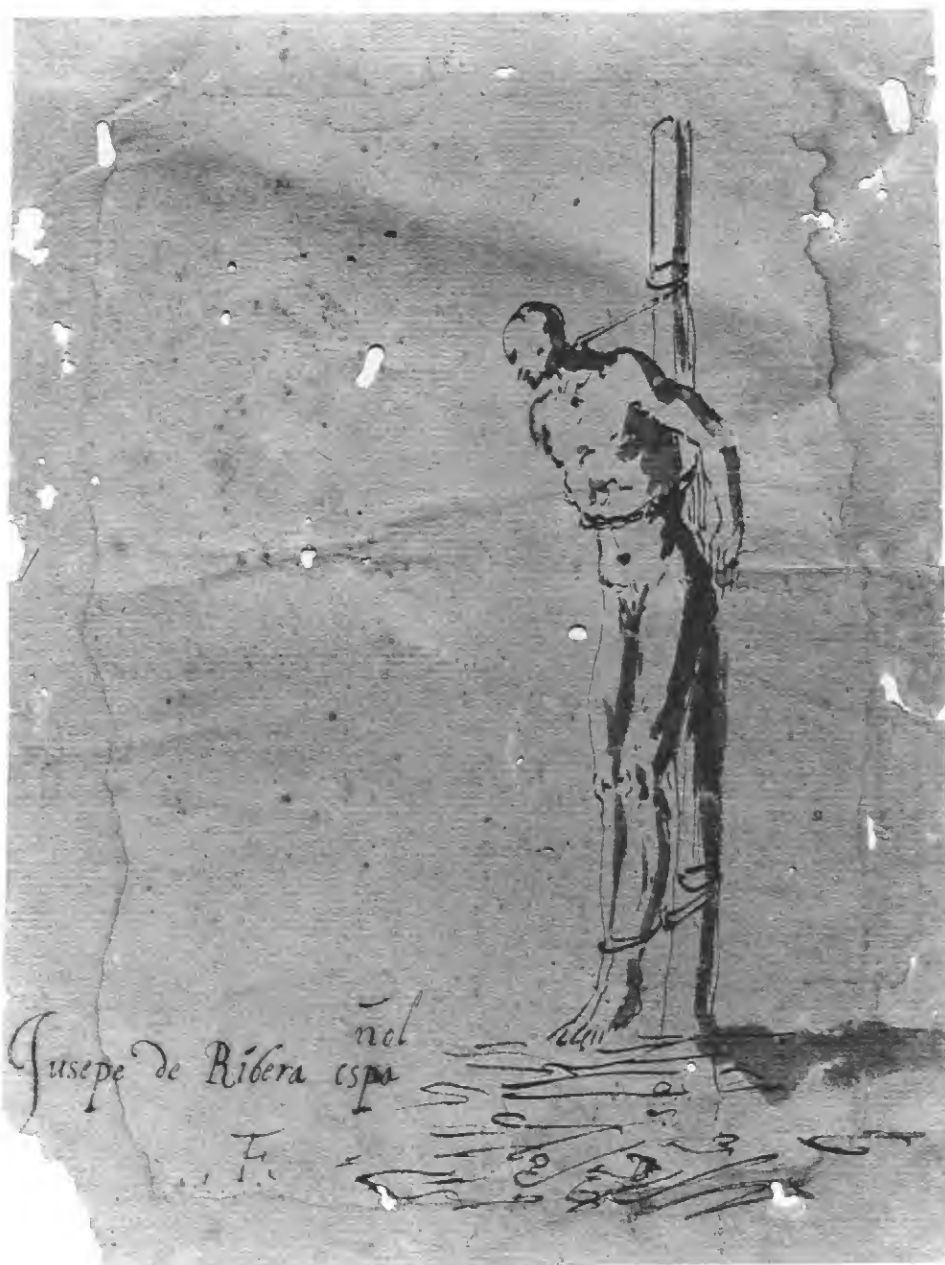
Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts,
California Palace of the Legion of Honor,
San Francisco; acc. no. 1963.24.614

THIS DRAWING IS another of the scenes of torture dating from the decade of the 1640s. It is closely related, in technique and in the placement of the figure in space, to the *Inquisition Scene* in the Rhode Island School of Design,¹ as well as to other compositions of the same sort that should also be attributed to the later years of the painter's life, such as the *Place of Execution*, or *Group of Tortured Men*, in the Biblioteca Reale in Turin² or the *Group of Figures Beside a Tree with a Hanged Man* in the Museo Civico in Bassano del Grappa.³

The drawing depicts an extremely cruel torture in which the man, chained to the stake at the ankles and waist, slowly strangles from the weight of his own body against the chain around his neck. Jonathan Brown has suggested that the abbreviated horizontal pen strokes at the foot of the stake represent the wood pyre that will burn and kill him.

There is no convincing explanation of the function of the drawing. It may be derived from a scene witnessed in reality or may be based upon the artist's imagination. Ribera may have been planning a series on various tortures, perhaps as the basis of prints similar to the two famous series of etchings, *The Large Miseries of War* (1633) and *The Small Miseries of War* (1636) by Jacques Callot, or he may have been illustrating some work of literature or law. The prominent, unmistakable signature in the lower portion of the drawing seems to indicate a public destination for this composition.

MM



1. Brown 1973, no. 32, p. 174.

2. Naples 1992, no. 2.53.

3. Naples 1992, no. 2.44.

PROVENANCE

J. G. Cogswell; M. L. Schiff; M. S. Achenbach.

REFERENCES

Hellman 1915, no. 256, pl. LXI; Vitzthum 1971, p. 79, fig. 7; Brown 1973, no. 36, pp. 176–77, pl. 63, p. 214; G. McKim Smith 1974, no. 38; Pérez Sánchez and Spínosa 1978, p. 90, fig. A; Brown, in Felton and Jordan 1982, fig. 105, p. 86.

116 *Figures Standing near a Fallen Giant and Watching Another Figure Flying*

Pen on white paper, $9\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (249 × 190 mm)

Inscribed in ink on the lower right: 55; on the old mount in ink: *Di Salvator Rosa Napol. no stimat. mo Pittore e Poeta*, and *S. Rosa*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Eric M. Wunsch, 1969
69.297



JONATHAN BROWN has dated this drawing to late in Ribera's career, possibly toward the end of the 1640s. The delicate penstrokes, together with such elements as the parallel lines used to model and suggest shadows, are typical of drawings of this period. This was also a time when the difference between Ribera's style and that of the young Salvator Rosa was minimal, a fact that justifies the earlier attribution of the drawing to Rosa.

As in other drawings by Ribera, the scene represented here is very difficult to inter-

pret, and to date no reasonable hypothesis that would clarify it has been published. In the foreground a man, wearing the typical uniform of a Roman soldier, lies on the ground; behind him a group of three old men in togas gesture in astonishment at the appearance of a male figure flying over them with his arm extended; the scene takes place before classical architecture suggestive of a city gate. The figure of the soldier or Roman centurion, fallen on the ground as if dead or in a faint, is closely related to that of the dead Adonis in the canvas *Venus*

and *Adonis* (Palazzo Corsini), dated about 1637, which would also support a late dating for this drawing. The identification of the subject is further hindered by the lack of comparable drawings. Nonetheless, it has elements in common with the iconography of the Conversion of Saint Paul.

MM

PROVENANCE

MacGowan (Lugt 1496); Sir William Forbes; Mrs. Peter Somerwell; Sotheby's, March 28, 1968, no. 77; E. Wunsch.

REFERENCES

Bean 1972, no. 93; Brown 1973, no. 34, pp. 175-76, pl. 61, p. 212; G. Mackim Smith 1974, p. 60, under no. 34.

117 *Saint Cecilia*

Pen and brown wash on white paper, 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (257 × 210 mm)

Inscribed in ink on the lower portion of the mount: *spagnoletto*; in ink on the verso:

Spagnoletto n. 29 ducati 3

Mr. Stanley Moss, Riverdale-on-Hudson, New York

Illustrated p. 195

FIRST PRESENTED fairly recently (1984) in the Neapolitan exhibition *Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli*, this drawing is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful by Ribera that have come down to us, not only in the luminous technique of pen-and-ink washes but in its composition as well. The drawing is further distinguished by its exceptional state of conservation, which helps us better understand the masterful graphic component of Ribera's art.

The drawing is very close in style and date to the beautiful study of *Achilles Among the Daughters of Licomedes* in the Teylers Museum in Haarlem,¹ and to *The Adoration of*

the *Shepherds* (cat. 118), both of which can be dated to about 1645 to 1650. As he does in *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, the artist employs the pen in very fine or broken strokes for the contours, and relies upon extremely beautiful washes for the effects of light and the textures of various materials. Furthermore, if the small group of cherubs flying overhead in *The Adoration of the Shepherds* is compared with those accompanying *Saint Cecilia* in heaven, it is clear that the latter are identical in form.

The theme of *Saint Cecilia* seated at the clavichord, playing the instrument or singing, is a favorite of Italian painting in the seventeenth century, and extant compositions on this theme by the greatest artistic figures of the period unite the Baroque taste for music with private devotion. No other work by Ribera on this subject is known, however, not even among those that are lost but recorded in historical sources.

MM

1. Naples 1992, no. 2.30.

PROVENANCE

G. Piancastelli (1845–1926), Rome(?); private collection, Zurich.

REFERENCES

J. Stock, in Naples 1984, vol. 2, no. 3.68; Naples 1992, p. 327, illus.; *Old Master Drawings*, Sotheby's, New York, January 20, 1992, lot 58, illus.

118 *The Adoration of the Shepherds*

Pen and brown ink with brown wash, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (235 × 187 mm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1968 68.64

Illustrated p. 192

THIS SPLENDID, light-filled drawing was identified as a work of Ribera's by Jacob Bean when it appeared at auction in 1969

with an attribution to Giuseppe Salviati. Certainly from the last decade or so of the artist's life, it has been dated by Brown to about 1645–50. Its wonderfully airy quality, achieved through the concentration of the tightly grouped figures in the lower right-hand corner of the sheet, by pen work that varies from the thin, staccato lines delineating the ass to the dark calligraphy around the kneeling shepherd, and by the broadly brushed wash that suggests both the shadowy background behind the Virgin and the clouds around the flying putti, finds a point of comparison in *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Louvre, which is signed and dated 1650 (see fig. 15). Compositionally, however, the drawing has more in common with the *Adoration* in the Escorial (cat. 58) of 1640. That work is horizontal rather than vertical in format, but it includes a number of motifs found in the Metropolitan drawing. Among these are the shepherd shown from the back in three-quarter view; the Virgin holding the child (in the reverse direction) above a manger constructed of large, jagged pieces of wood; the head and clasped hands of an adoring figure seen in the half light behind the Virgin; the left foreground plane defined by an animal (a lamb in the Escorial painting; an ass in the drawing); and two interlocked flying putti, one viewed in steep foreshortening. In view of these similarities, it seems possible that the Metropolitan *Adoration*—one of the most beautiful late pen-and-ink drawings from Ribera's hand—is an early idea for that damaged and much darkened picture, in which a mood of noble intimacy (not dissimilar to the Metropolitan *Holy Family with Saints Anne and Catherine of Alexandria*, of 1648) was ultimately transformed into a paean of peasant life.

KC

PROVENANCE

Dr. G. L. Laporte, New York (Lugt 1170); (sale, O'Reilly's Plaza Art Galleries, New York, April 25, 1968, lot 91).

REFERENCES

J. Bean and J. McKendry, "A Fortunate Year," in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27, no. 6, 1969, p. 314; Brown 1973, pp. 131, 174, no. 33; J. Bean, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Notable Acquisitions*, 1965–1975, 1975, p. 58; R. Robbins, in *Moir* 1986, p. 232; Brown, in Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 81.

119 *Virgin of the Crescent Moon*

Pen and brown ink with brown wash, $9\frac{7}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. (240 × 165 mm)

Inscribed in ink: *Giuseppe Ribera*; in pencil: *Spagnoletto*

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1965 65.66.13

SINCE THE Middle Ages, there has been a tradition of representing Saint John's apocalyptic vision of "a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Rv 12 : 1) as a half-length figure of the Virgin on a crescent moon holding the Christ Child. Conventional to prints illustrating the Apocalypse or the Life of the Virgin, such as those by Dürer, this image is less frequently encountered as the isolated subject of a painting. Nonetheless, one such picture by Ribera, dated 1643, exists (Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota). Not surprisingly, it is with that picture that Vitzthum associated the Metropolitan drawing. However, Brown is surely right in noting that the resemblance is confined to the iconography rather than treatment (in the Sarasota picture the Virgin is shown in three-quarter view, turned to the right, nursing her child, and there are no accompanying cherubs). He rightly considers the *Virgin of the Crescent Moon* among the latest of Ribera's drawings, noting that "the strength and vigor of Ribera's line has waned." In addition, the forms tend toward a certain awkwardness that is partly attributable to his ill health. However, these failings in facility



are fully redeemed by the dynamic, wonderfully spacious conception, with the figures bathed in a brilliant light such as is found in Ribera's finest paintings of the last decade of his life. It is difficult to imagine how this treatment, in which the figures are secondary to the space, could have been translated into a devotional painting.

KC

PROVENANCE

Prof. John Isaacs (until 1965; sale, Sotheby's, London, January 28, 1965, lot 159); Colnaghi; The Metropolitan Museum of Art (from 1965).

REFERENCES

Florence 1967, p. 31; Brown 1973, p. 178; idem 1974, no. 21, p. 372.

Uffizi drawing and the Louvre painting is that in the drawing a secondary group of shepherds is seen beyond a broken wall, behind the two principal shepherds, while in the painting a shepherd and his female companion fill the right-hand quarter of the picture surface. A workshop variant of the Louvre composition in the cathedral of Castellammare di Stabia includes an additional shepherd at the far right, but otherwise, there is no compelling analogy. It is, therefore, worth considering whether this study may not be for a commission Ribera

was unable to complete because of either his illness or death—a commission to which the drawing in Berlin is also connected. In support of this hypothesis one might note that an analogy for the poses, figure types, and spatial grouping can be found, in reverse, in the apostles of Ribera's monumental canvas of the *Communion of the Apostles* (fig. 16), which he completed in 1651.

KC

REFERENCES

Florence 1967, no. 43, pp. 31–32; Brown 1973, pp. 132, 175; idem, in Felton and Jordan 1982, p. 79.

120 *The Adoration of the Shepherds*

Red chalk, 6⅞ × 5 in. (162 × 128 mm)

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence; inv. no. 2189

IN THE exaggerated proportions and small, almost caricatural heads, this fine study for a group of adoring shepherds (the Christ Child, lying in a manger, is visible at the left) is typical of Ribera's late drawing style. Brown has tentatively associated it with the Louvre *Adoration of the Shepherds*, which is dated 1650 (fig. 15). As Vitzthum noted, the Louvre painting is certainly the chronological point of reference for the Uffizi study and for two further compositional drawings for a horizontal *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. no. 15772; and Walker Art Gallery, formerly Holkham Hall, inv. II/4. The latter, in red chalk, is for a nocturnal *Adoration* on the model of Correggio's celebrated painting in Dresden and, what is more pertinent, Guido Reni's late masterpiece of 1640–42 in the Certosa di San Martino in Naples). The most important difference between the



Documentary Appendix: The Life and Work of Jusepe de Ribera

GABRIELE FINALDI

The appendix that follows includes all the documentary material published to date, along with some new, unpublished items. Also included are the important sections from Giulio Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla pittura* and Jusepe Martínez's *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura* that deal with Ribera.

ASBN: Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli, Naples

ASF: Archivio di Stato, Florence

ASN: Archivio di Stato, Naples

BN: Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

January 13, 1588: Marriage of Jusepe de Ribera's parents in Játiva.

"A 13 De Janer 1588. yo Nofre Juan Llopis Vicari factis Tribus solitis monitionibus y estant certificat De com se feren en St. marti de Valencia ab lletres Del Sor. official Scolano* dades en Valencia a 23 De octubre propasat de cum nullibi appareret impedimentum, esposi ab paraules De present a simo Ribera sabater de Valencia y a Margarita Cuco filla De Pere Cuco, en la sglesia de Sta. Tecla y statim los doni las benedictions nuptials presents pro testibus lo magnific** Frances borell, ciutada y hierony colomer y altres" [In the margin: "Simo Ribera y margarita Cuco"] (Archivo de la Colegiata de Játiva, Libro primero de difuntos y desposados).

* Scolano has been identified by Mateu y Llopis as Gaspar Juan Escolano (1560–1619),

chronicler of Valencia and parish priest of San Esteban.

** magnifici: title accorded to citizens of Valencia.

Viñes 1923; Mateu y Llopis 1953.

October 1, 1588: Baptism of Visent Miguel, eldest son of Simón Ribera and Margarita Cuco.

"Lo primer de octubre 1588 yo quintana vicari e bategat a visent miguel geroni fill de simo ribera sabater y de margalida cucona fon compare Frances borell ciutada y comare Isabet Juan vizerra viuda de nofre abril" (Archivo de la Colegiata de Játiva, Octavo libro de bautismos, años 1587–98*).

* This parish record was destroyed in 1936.

Viñes 1923; Mateu y Llopis 1953.

February 17, 1591: Baptism of Jusepe de Ribera.

"Dit dia de diset de febrer 1591 — mosen quintana vicari bateja a Joan Josep fill De Simo ribera y margalida cucco conjuges foren padrins misser* pere vezerra prevere y hieronyma vezerra donzella filla de misser vezerra generos" [In the margin: "Joan Josep" and "Ribera y Cucó"] (Archivo de la Colegiata de Játiva, Octavo libro de bautismos, 1587–98).

* misser: title used for lawyers.

Viñes 1923; Mateu y Llopis 1953.

May 12, 1593: Baptism of Juan, the painter's younger brother.

"A 12 de maig 1593. Jo onofre Julbi bategi a juan fill symo ribera y de margarida cuquo coniuges compares Joseph gavila y marga-

rita daroca donzella" [In the margin: "Juan Ribera"] (Archivo de la Colegiata de Játiva, Octavo libro de bautismos, 1587–98).

Viñes 1923.

December 8, 1597: Second marriage of Simón Ribera, the painter's father.

"A 8 mosen christotol ferrandiz de licentia del Sor. official soler sposa en sa casa iuxta Decretum Concilii Tridentini a Simo Ribera çabater ab Angela Ferrandiza donzella testes Hieroni Vezerra canonge y mosen [?] pavia vedell y Frances miralles boters reberen les benedictions nuptials" [In the margin: "Ribera"] (Archivo de la Colegiata de Játiva, Libro primero de difuntos y desposados).

Viñes 1923.

[July 3, 1602: Baptismal record of a certain Anna Rivera, born in Naples. It has been suggested that she was a sister of the painter.

"Anna figlia legittima e nle del s.r Simone rivera* e della s.ra Vittoria bricchi de rivera, il s.r Compadre Baldassar quares la s.ra Comadre Virgilia de giulij fu battezzata da D. Gio. Anello d'Orso Par.o della Chiesa di S. Marco delli Tessitori adi 3 di luglio 1602" (Parrocchia di S. Marco dei Tessitori, Libro I dei battesimi, gennaio 1598 – novembre 1606, f. 27).

* It is unlikely that this is Simón Ribera, father of the painter. There is no documentary evidence that he ever visited Italy, and given that he married a second time in 1597 and that he married again in 1607, both times in Spain, the Vittoria Bricchi

named in the certificate cannot have been the wife of Simón Ribera of Spain. Salazar 1894.]

February 4, 1607: Third marriage of Simón Ribera.

“Dicto die Jo Pere Juan Alberio Vicari desposi ab paraules de present a Simo Ribera Sabater Viudo y a margarita anna Selleres Viuda de miquel pareja tots habitants de Xativa factis tribus canonicis monitionibus de llicencia obtesa y dada en Xativa a XXXI de giner 1607 Testes mestre Juan redolat Sastre y Pere alemany mercader y molts altres” [In the margin: “Simo Ribera y margarita anna Selleres”] (Archivo de la Colegiata de Játiva, Libro primero de solo desposados, enero 1605 – marzo 1622). Viñes 1923.

June 11, 1611: A note in an eighteenth-century manuscript records a payment made to Ribera for the *Saint Martin* in Parma. The manuscript is entitled “Descrizione dei famosi pittori.” In the margin, next to the reference to the *Saint Martin* (“Ribera de.to Spagnoletto Giuseppe è l’Ancona di S. Martino a cavallo, che divide la sua veste a un povero”), is a note written in another hand that reads:

“Detta tavola fù divozione del Consorzio eretto nella Chiesa Parrocchiale di S. Prospero sotto il Titolo di S. Martino sud.o, e dal libro p.o di d.o Consorzio si ricava essere stato fatto li 11 di Giugno dell’anno 1611 pagate a d.o Giuseppe Ribera L.209.s. fù poi trasportato nella chiesa Prossima di S.Andrea nell’anno 1629 in occasione della suppressione di d.a Parrocchiale unita alla Chiesa di S.Andrea” (Parma, Biblioteca Sopr. Beni AA.SS., inv. n. 131A f.1). Cordaro 1980.

October 27, 1613: Ribera receives an invitation from the Accademia di San Luca in Rome to attend a meeting in which the subject of discussion will be the Accademia’s church. The document establishes Ribera’s

presence in Rome by this date.

“Relatio. — V.S. si degnier domenica prossima li 27 del presente [October 1613] a ore vinti trovarsi alla congregazione accademica in Santo Luca per concudere cossa utilissima per la nostra giesia.” Among the names listed is: “Josefo di Riviera” (Archivio dell’Accademia di San Luca, Rome). Hoogewerff 1913.

April 1615: Ribera is in Rome with one of his brothers.

“Strada Margutta

A mano destra da capo di ferro p[er] andare al Popolo.

Nella casa delli Guarnieri . . .

In altra casa dell’istesso sotto guarda nel corso

cre. com.* Giuseppe Riviera da Valenza di anni Pittore sopra

cre. com. Giovanni Calvo da Saragozza di anni

cre. com. Giovanni Cor[va?] da Saragozza di anni

cre. com. Pietro Maria da Valerano Garzone di anni 18

Girolamo fratello di Giuseppe” (Archivio Storico del Vicariato presso S. Giovanni Laterano, Status Animarum, S. Maria del Popolo, LXIV, April 1615, f. not numbered).

* cre. com.: cresima comunicata

Chenault 1969.

March 1616: Ribera is still in Rome, with his younger brother, Juan.

“Strada Margutta

A mano sinistra p[er] andare al capo di ferro.

Nella casa de fiamègo sotto

Nella casa sopra

Tut[i] com. Giuseppe Riviera Valentiano Pittori

Giovanni suo fratello

Giovanni Coraldo di Saragozza

Giovanni Calvo di Saragozza

Pietro Maria da Valerano italiano” (Archivio Storico del Vicariato presso S. Giovanni Laterano, Status Animarum, S. Maria del

Popolo, LXIV, March 1616, f. 27).

Chenault 1969.

May 7, 1616: Ribera effects a payment of two scudi to the Accademia di San Luca.

“Segue la retroscritta entrata dell’Accademia di San Luca doppo il saldo. . .

1616

Somma la facciata dicontra segue . . .

Adi 7 d[i] Maggio dal Sr Giosephe Riviera per la elemosina promessa altre volte di doi scudi . . .” (Roma, Accademia di San Luca, Libro del camerlengo, XLII, f. 124v, 126).

Hoogewerff 1913; Chenault 1969; Martinez de la Peña 1968.

July 21, 1616: Ribera receives payment in Naples for a *Saint Mark* for Marcantonio Doria.

“A Lanfranco Massa D. quindici e per lui a Gioseppe de Rivera pittore disse per un quadro de Santo Marco che l’hà fatto per servitio del signor Marcantonio Doria” (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale di cassa, Matricola 119, giovedì 21 luglio 1616, f. 1119).

Nappi 1986.

November 10, 1616: Marriage contract between Ribera and Caterina Azzolino y India.

“Capitula pro Catherina azolino.

[In the margin: “Dotale die septima 9.bris 1617.”]

“Die decimo mensis novembris 15.e Indictionis 1616 neapoli et proprie jntus claustrum monasterij sancti spiritus jn nostra presentia constituto Joanne berardino azolino Pictore neapoli residente agente ad jnfrascripta tam pro se quam nomine et pro parte Catherine azoline eius filie legitime et naturalis in capillo existentis . . . ex parte una. Et joseph de ribera hispano valentiano similiter pictore neapoli residente qui dixit habere patrem nomine simonem de ribera residentem jn hyspania a quo dixit esse emancipatum et se ipsum vivere hic neapoli seorsum ab eo . . . ex parte altera.

“Prefato vero partes et quelibet ipsarum sponte asseruerunt pariter coram nobis fuisse inter eas mediante communibus amicis habitum colloquium et tractatum de matrimonio Deo dante contrahendo inter predictam Chaterinam ex una et jpsum joseph ex altera. Et cupientes illud tam quam eis gratum realiter ad effectum ducere jdcirco partes ipse et quelibet jpsarum super dicto matrimonio sic ut predicatur contrahendo sponte coram nobis inhierunt fecerunt et firmaverunt jnfrascripta capitula matrimonialia pacta et conventiones videlicet: Jn primis jl predetto Giovanni berardino promette curare et fare con effetto executione realj che detta Chaterina sua figlia habia da pigliare et acceptare jn suo vero charo et legitimo sposo detto gioseppe et con esso contrahere sollemne et legitimo matrimonio per verba de presentj et volo et con tutte le sollennità et conventioni della Santa Romana Ecclesia jnfra et per tutte le feste de natale proximo venturo i616 seu jnfra quanto prima staranno comodi.

“Et per contemplatione et causa dj detto matrimonio et per li pesj di quello como de supportandj dtto giovanni berardino promette dare et assignare jn dotem datam et per le dotj de detta Catherina sua figlia al detto Gioseppe suo futuro sposo de soi proprij beni substantia et facultà per ogni parte et portione dj essa Catherina et per legitima et supplemento dj legitima et per ogn altra ragione et attione le compete et potesse competere sopra la sua heredita' paterna materna dote materno fraterne sororie cierge et averne Ducatj sei cento de carlini tuttj giontj jnsieme a tempo se contraherà detto matrimonio: Cio è ducatj cento jn tanti beni mobili et oro per apprezzo de doi comoni amici et experti comuniter eligendj : altri Ducatj ducento jn denari contanti per comprarsene oro et veste et mobilj per servitio di essi futurj sposi et loro casa: Et li altrj ducatj trecento quali esso Joanne berardino tene jn banco similmente jn denari contantj.

“Però questj ducatj trecento non se possono amovere da detto banco per qualsivoglia causa per esso Joseppe ne altro

in suo nome eccetto per convertendosi jn compra de tante annue jntrate seu beni stabili libere vel cum patto de retrovendendo ò jn constructione de fabrica nova jn questa Città de napoli suo destritto et tenimento con intervento consiglio et saputa jn scriptis dj esso Joanne berardino et soi heredi et successori per securtà dele dote dj essa Catherina con farsi expressa mentione como sono denari proprij dotalj dj essa catherina alla quale stiano specialiter et expresse obtente et hypotecate dette compre per dette sue dote et sicome esso gioseppe ex nunc per tunc et quelle obliga et hypoteca à detta Catherina sua futura moglie con tal prelatione che sia preferita ad qualsivoglia creditore dj esso gioseppe etiam anteriore et privilegiato de qualsivoglia privilegio jn corpore juris clauso et non clauso et privilegio dotis ac regio fisco et fandosi compra con patto de retrovendendo se debia ponere pacto jn le cautele che se stipularanno dj dette compre che il futuro venditore al tempo de la ricompra seu retrovendita che se li farà debia depositare detto prezzo et capitale de ducatj trecento jn publico banco residente jn napolj per reymplacarsi jn altra compra con li medesimi pattj vincultj et conditioni ut supra expressi et cossi se debia osservare tante volte quante se fara compra con patto de retrovendendo quia sic.

“Et versavice jl detto gioseppe similmente promette pigliare et acceptare detta Catherina jn sua vera chara et legitima sposa et con essa contrahere jl detto matrimonio secondo si è detto dj sopra et jnfra il termine ut supra expresso nec non quella tradure jn sua casa honorifice et secondo se convene. Jtem detto gioseppe promette a tempo sera contratto detto matrimonio et receputa che haverà detta dote nel modo et forma ut supra expresse cautelare et fare cauta di detta catherina per publico jnstrumento dotale con promissione sicome ex nunc pro tunc etiam compromette dette dote ut supra recipiendi tenere custodire conservare et fare salve sopra tuttj e qualsivoglia soj benj mobilj stabili presentj et futurj ad opus nomen et jnstantiam dj detta Catherina

sua futura sposa nec non quelle jntegramente jn denari contantj ad rispetto deli primj ducatj trecento che se le consignaranno jn mobili et denarij per comprarne oro veste et mobilj ut supra: ma jn quanto alli altri ducatj trecento convertendi jn compra ut supra jn le istesse annue jntrate ò beni stabili che se trovaranno comprate ò fabrica nova che se trovarà costrutta ut supra ò altre compre che se ritrovassero sub rogate jn loco di quelle jn aliquo o non diminuite ne deteriorate per sua colpa et defecto jntegramente restituire, et pagare a detta Catherina et soi figli heredi et successori seu al detto giovanni berardino suo padre. Jn caso che detto matrimonio se venesse a dissolvere per morte il che non sia dj alcuno dj essi futuri sposi et jn ognaltro caso et evento del guadagno restitutione et assecuratione de dette dotj secondo l'uso et antiqua consuetudine de questa fidelissima Città de napoli volgarmente detta ala vecchia maniera salva et reservata la potestà et facultà a detta Catherina possersi testare et disporre de dette dote et secondo detta consuetudine.

“Et jn super jl detto gioseppe havendo rijspetto a dette dotj ut supra promesseli et per amore che dice portare ad detta Catherina sua futura sposa et per altre giuste cause promette al medesimo tempo che se contraherà detto matrimonio et riceverà dette dote costituire et fare sincome da mò per al hora constituijsce ordina et fa anzj dona donationis titulo jnrevocabiliter jnter vivos a detta signora Catherina sua futura sposa lo antefato jn locum quarte seu donationis perpetui nuncupativae et omni meliorj modo de ducatj trecento de carlini per la mittà de dette dote sopra tuttj et qualsevoglia soi benj mobilj stabili presenti et futurj. . . se subscripserunt jn manuali videlicet: Gioanne berardino azzolino, Jusepe ribera presentibus Judice regio ad contractus gabriele ramo de neapoli nec non Didaco de Molina jntendente Julio de gratia scultore, s. bottone professo in medicina feliciano de orlando cum medico cannizale finetto de oberto milanese scrittoriario al santo spirito: testibus” (ASN,

Notai del Cinquecento, Damiano di Forte, Scheda 252, Protocollo 34, fols. 436r–438v). Delfino 1987.

Between November 11 and December 25, 1616: Marriage of Jusepe de Ribera and Caterina Azzolino y India in the Neapolitan Church of San Marco dei Tessitori. (Among the parish registers of San Marco dei Tessitori, the first book of marriage records covers the years 1598 to 1616. In the index, under the letter R, the following words appear: “Gioseppe de Ribera — f. 131.” Page 131 is missing; the last marriage recorded in the book occurs on September 15.) Salazar 1894.

August 18, 1617: Ribera receives a payment for painting banners for four of the duke of Elma's (Lerma's?) galleys. “A Loyse Gauditore D.100. E per lui a Giuseppe Ribera a compimento di ducati 250 et a buon conto della pittura che va facendo per servitio delli stendardi delle quattro galere del signor duca dell'Elma” (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale del 1617, Matr. 119, 18 agosto). Nappi 1990.

August 31, 1617: See the preceding comment. “A Loyse Gauditore D.50 E per lui a Giuseppe Ribera a compimento di ducati 300 per saldo della pittura che va facendo per servitio delli stendardi delle quattro galere del signor duca dell'Elma” (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Matr. 130, 31 agosto). Nappi 1990.

November 7, 1617: Ratification of dowry of Caterina Azzolino, wife of the painter. “Dotale pro Caterina azolina [In the margin: “capitula die x gbris 1616.”] “Die septima mensis novembris prime iudictionis 1617: neapoli jn nostri presentia Constitutus Joseph rivera hispano pictore neapoli quomorante qui sponte asserevit Coram nobis et Joanne berardino azolino

de neapoli pictore eius socero jbidem presente et agente tam pro se quem nomine et pro parte Catherine azoline sue filie et uxoris eiusdem Joseph: mensibus elapsis fuisse stipulata Capitula matrimonialia jnter jpsas partes pro manus mei predictis notarij super matrimonio tunc Contrahendo jntere ipsum Joseph ex una et jpsam Catherine ex altra et contemplatione eiusdem matrimonij efuisse per eundem Joanni bernardinij promissos ipsi Joseph jn dotem et pro dotibus dicte Catherine ducatos sex centum de Carlinis cuj nonnullis partis et conventionibus pro ut latius apparete dixerunt ex dictis Capitulis manu mei predicti notarij stipulatio sub die Xa mensis novembris 1616 quibus: Deinde verum dictum matrimonium per dei gratia fuisse sollemniter et legitime Contractum jnter ipsum Joseph ex una et predictam Catherine ex altera per verba de presentij vis et volo data hinc inde fide pariter atque pace: interveniente sacerdotali benedictione anulique impositione ac misse Celebratione in parochiali ecclesie santi marcij et alijs solemnitatibus ad jd requisitis secundum morem usum et consuetudinem sacro sante matris ecclesie romane: Et Contemplatione et causa eiusdem matrimonij et pro oneribus ipsius comode supportandis: Jdem Joseph sponte confessus est coram nobis et Dicto Joanne berardino azolino eius socero presente seipsum personaliter et manualiter recepisse et huisse jn dotem dotis noie et pro dotibus redicte Catherine sue uxoris ab eodem Joanne berardino eius patre jbidem presente et eam dotante de bonis paternis maternis dotibusque maternis et legitimis et paragijs dotibusque ducatos sex centum de carlinis sibj promissos jn predictis Capitulis matrimonialibus; hoc modo videlicet Centum ex eis jn tot bonis mobilis auro argento et jocalibus mediante: apretio expeditorum comunementem electorum, et ducatos ducentum jn pecunia numerata de constantibus per eum cum jnterventu eiusdem sui soceri erogatos conversos et jmpensos jn emptione vestium, jocalium et bonorum mobilium pro servitio persone dicte Catherine sue uxoris et pro usu eorum Domus:

Et reliquos ducatos tercentum ad complementum recepisse pro medium bancij spiritus sancti huius Civitatis neapolis excetioni de quibus dotibus ut supra receptis jbidem Joseph sensiens seipsum bene contentum spontaneamente coram nobis quietavit eundem Joannem berardinem presentem etiam per aquilianam Stipulationem et eadem Capitula matrimonialia quo ad promissionem: dotium predictarum cassavit firmis tamen remanentibus Capitulis jpsius quo ad ante . . . tem et alia jn eis contenta jn beneficium jpsius Catherine Cum declaratione qualiter predicti ultimj ducati tercentum fuerunt relaxatj jn dicto bancho spiritus sancti sub conditione quod non possunt ammoverij per eundem Joseph nec per alium seu alios nomine pro quavis causa etiam urgentissima nisi pro illis Convertendis. . . . Pro quibus observantis ambe partes ipse et quecumque jpsarum pro ut actentis sponte obligaverunt se jpsas earumque et bona omnia una pars alij presentibus ad penam duplici medietate cum potestate Capiendi Constitutione precarij remutaverunt juraverunt et se subscripserunt jn manuali videlicet Jusepe Rivera: Joanne Berardino Azzolino presentibus iudice regio ad Contractus gabriele ramo de neapoli nec non Antonio astuto alias pascariello racamator a palaczo: Alexandro venturino Joanne baptista Cremona Joanne marino milone omnibus recamatoribus jn apoteca predicta antonij astutij et antonio Jordano pictore* cum eis testibus” (ASN, Notai del Cinquecento, Damiano di Forte, Scheda no. 252, Protocollo 35, fols. 288r–290v).

* Antonio Giordano: Father of Luca. De Dominici describes him as a “mediocre painter, who, lacking invention, copied the works of Lo Spagnoletto” (De Dominici 1840–46, vol. 4, p. 126). Unpublished.

December 9, 1617: Jusepe de Ribera (or, less likely, his brother Juan, also a painter) receives a payment of 50 ducats from a certain Bernardo Farardo for a painting of Saint Augustine.

'A Bartolomeo de Arazola D.50. E per lui a Bernardo Farardo. E per esso a Gio de Rivera a compimento di ducati 70 per tanti che li paga per valore di un quadro di Santo Agostino che l'have venduto e consignato" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1617, Matr. 125, December 9).
This document was kindly made available by E. Nappi.

January 23, 1618: The Tuscan agent in Naples, Cosimo del Sera, refers to Ribera in a letter to the grand duke Cosimo II's secretary, Andrea Cioli.
"Ci è uno Spagnuolo, che al gusto mio, è molto meglio [di Fabrizio Santafede], avendo fatto tre quadri di santi al V[ice] R[e] che sono molto stimati et a questo non manca Bizzarria, e buone invenzioni, e per quanto mi dicano le persone intelligenti di questa Professione, a molte parte squisite; se S.A. vuol veder qual cosa V.S. mel'avvisi, che procurerò di servirla, e se fusse costà un certo Pittoretto Gobbo di questi paesi chiamato Giovambattistello* non e a proposito informarsi da lui, perche son poco amici, e questo spag.lo è invidiato da tutti, e dopo il Bronzino,** e stimato il meglio di quanti hoggi ne viva" (Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Mediceo 1396).

* Caracciolo.

** Cristofano Allori.

Parronchi 1980.

February 8, 1618: Ribera pays 150 ducats to Azzolino, his father-in-law.

"Banco di San Giacomo pagate per me a Gio Berardino Azzolino D.150 correnti et ci li pago per altritanti et ponete a conto di casa a 8 di marzo 1618. Iusepe Ribera" (Banco di San Giacomo, Vol. bancali estinte l'8 febbraio 1618).
Nappi 1990.

February 12, 1618: Apparitio d'Orive, the viceroy duke of Osuna's secretary, draws 300 ducats on the military account and pays them to Ribera.

"Alla Cassa Militare D.300. E per essa al presidente Apparitio d'Orive per spese secrete del servitio di Sua Maestà dei quali n'ha da dar conto. E per esso a Gioseppe de Ribera di sua volontà" (ASBN, Banco di San Giacomo, Giornale del 1618, Matr. 46, 12 febbraio).
Nappi 1990.

February 13, 1618: Letter from Del Sera to Andrea Cioli, which indicates that Ribera was to paint a picture for the grand duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II.

"Ho visto quanto S.A. comanda circa le pitture, che devo far fare a soggetti avvisatimi sentendo sieno molto eminenti, et allo Spagnuolo dirò che metta il quadro in ordine, per farlo a suo capriccio, sperando darà satisfazione . . ." (ASF, Mediceo 1396).
Parronchi 1980.

February 20, 1618: See the preceding comment.

"Non ho già possuto vedere Cornelio che deve fare il Paesaggio, essendo egli stato fuori alcuni giorni, e lo Spagnuolo va pensando di fare qual'cosa di garbo, si come anco il Santafede" (ASF, Mediceo 1396).
Parronchi 1980.

March 6, 1618: Del Sera informs Cioli that Ribera has not begun the picture for the grand duke yet because he is painting a *Crucifixion* for the vicereine of Naples.

"Lo Spagnuolo e dattorno a un Crocifisso della S.a V Regina et compiuto dara di mano a servir S.A.S. sperando che questo sara molto puntuale, perche si diletta del suo mestiero et e un huomo di molte buone parte" (ASF, Mediceo 1400).
Parronchi 1980; Finaldi 1991.

April 12, 1618: Del Sera informs Cioli that Ribera will finish the work for the grand duke by the end of May.

"Sarò dattorno a quelli che hanno e' lavori fra mani per servizio di S.A.S. e quanto a'

quadri, avanti la mia partenza, non sarà finito salvo che in parte i Fiammingo, ma lascerò per sollecitatore Vinc Vettori, e lo spagnuolo per tutto maggio si caverà le mani, così Giulio di Grazia che fa di cera" (ASF, Mediceo 1396).
Parronchi 1980.

May 1, 1618: Del Sera informs Cioli that Ribera has been astounded by the works of Bronzino (Cristofano Allori).

"Quanto alli quadri spero di havere avanti la mia partenza il paese del Fiammingho et il giudizio di Paris di Giulio di Grazia. Poco appresso finirà il suo lo Spagnuolo, ma pel Santa Fede che deve far Galatea, non so che mi dire, dubitando si sia sbigottito nel veder l'opere del Bronzino, sì come anco ha fatto lo Spagnuolo, ma perche questo è huomo modestissimo, e confessa d'esser inferiore, non e per mancare di quanto ha promesso" (ASF, Mediceo 1400).

Parronchi 1980.

August 11, 1618: Azzolino, the painter's father-in-law, pays Ribera 300 ducats in accordance with the dowry agreement.
"A Gio Berardino Azzolino D.300. E per lui a Giuseppe Rivera, suo genero, a compimento di ducati 600 per l'intera dote di Caterina Azzolino sua figlia et moglie di esso Giuseppe per esso Gio Berardino promessili mediante capitoli fatti a 10 novembre 1616 et istrumento di notar Gio Damiano Forte a 7 novembre 1617, che l'altri ducati 300 l'ebbe li mesi a dietro in mobili e danaro, secondo in detto strumento dotale appare al quale se riferisce, però detti ducati trecento restano in questo banco vinculati con conditione che non s'abbiano d'amovere da questo banco si non per farne compra et suo intervento per sicortà della dote per detta Caterina conforme detti capitoli et istrumento dotale. E adempite le conditioni che sono detti capitoli et istrumento dotale da starsene a fede del detto notar Damiano di forte et per esso per banco" (ASBN, Banco dello

Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1618, Matr. 135).
Ferrante 1979; Nappi 1990.

October 13, 1618: Vincenzo Vettori, the Tuscan agent in Naples, pays for a *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*.

"A Vincenzo Vittori D.100. E per lui a Giuseppe Ribera in soddisfazione di una pittura che rappresenta il Martirio del Glorioso San Bartolomeo che l'ha consegnato" (ASBN, Banco di Santo Spirito, Matr. 134, 13 ottobre).
Nappi 1990.

October 26, 1618: The Tuscans Capponi and Del Sera pay for an unidentified painting.

"A Pier Caponi e Cosmo del Sero D.20. Et per loro a Giuseppe di Ribera a compimento di ducati 50 per lo prezzo de uno quadro di pittura che fa a istanza loro. Et per esso a Gio Ribera per altritanti" (ASBN, Banco della Pietà, Giornale del 1618, Matr. 93, 26 ottobre).
Nappi 1990.

December 11, 1618: Letter from Lodovico Carracci in Bologna to Ferrante Carlo, the Roman collector, in which Ribera is highly praised.

"Mi è stato di grandissimo gusto sentire dalla sua lettera, copiosa d'avvisi intorno alli quadri di V.S., . . . e sentire li pareri di quelli pittori che hanno un gusto eccellentissimo, particolarmente quel pittore, Spagnuolo, che tiene dietro alla scuola di Caravaggio. Se è quello che dipinse un S. Martino in Parma che stava col signor Mario Farnese, bisogna star lesto che non diano la colonia al povero Lodovico Carracci: bisogna tenersi in piedi con le stringhe. Lo so bene che non trattano con persona addormentata. . . . Il signor Bartolommeo Dolcini saluta V.S., e mostrò di avere questo particolare delle parole dello Spagnuolo. Disse: Io vorria poterli mostrare le mie pitture per vedere quello che dicesse.

Ma bisogna scusare il signor Bartolomeo, che è innamorato delle sue cose."
Bottari 1754; Bottari and Ticozzi 1822–25.

August 13, 1619: Ribera pays part of the annual sum he owes for a house he has acquired in the Strada di Santo Spirito.
"A Giuseppe de Ribera D.38.50. Et per lui a Giovanna della Trinità a compimento di ducati 58.50 per annui ducati 117 che ogni anno li rende per l'interusurio di ducati 1900 della somma del prezzo d'una casa con giardino a lui venduta sita in strada di Santo Spirito di questa città. Notar Paulo de Rinaldo di Napoli 5 gennaio 1619" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1619, Matr. 139, 13 agosto).
Nappi 1990.

October 26, 1619: Ribera acquires stone and pays for work on his house in the Strada di Santo Spirito (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1619, Matr. 145, 26 ottobre).
Nappi 1990.

November 7, 1619: Ribera receives payment for three paintings of evangelists for Marcantonio Doria.

"A Lanfranco massa D. trentacinque et per lui a Gioseppe di Ribera disse ad compimento di quello, che li altri D.25 l'hebbe a 22 de maggio per lo spirito santo et sono per tre quadri di tre evangelisti li ha fatto et consegnato per servitio del signor marcantonio doria di Genoa" (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale di cassa, Matr. 144, 7 Novembre 1619, f. 363). These three paintings, together with the *Saint Mark*, paid for on Doria's behalf on July 21, 1616, form a series of four evangelists. They are listed in the inventory of Marcantonio Doria's pictures, dated May 15, 1620 (see Pacelli 1980, p. 44).
Delfino 1984.

Ca. 1620: Biographical notes on the young Ribera, taken from Giulio Mancini's

Considerazioni sulla pittura.

"Concerning Giuseppe Ribera, called lo Spagnoletto

"It cannot and ought not to be denied that Giuseppe Ribera of Valencia, commonly called lo Spagnoletto, is the most naturally gifted artist to have appeared for many years. For while still quite young, having journeyed through Lombardy to see the work of those able men, and finding himself in Parma, he aroused the jealous fear of those who served his Highness [Ranuccio Maria Farnese], that, coming to the notice of that Prince, he might be taken into the latter's service, causing them to lose their positions; for that reason they forced him to leave.

"And, having come to Rome, he worked for a daily wage for those who have workshops and sell paintings through the labours of similar young men. With this opportunity, comporting himself well, he made his talents known, and came into a great reputation with a very great profit. But as time went by, disliking the work, and leading a life in which he spent much more than he earned, he was forced and compelled through debt to leave Rome and go to Naples where he was taken in by Giovanni the Sicilian, a painter and a most singular man who works with wax and terracotta on a small scale and is now no ordinary painter. He married one of his daughters and, doing various works with his usual felicitous manner he was introduced to the Viceroy. As a result, he lives in that city, still spending his usual amount and that extra that a wife and honourable appearance at court necessitate; nonetheless, having left the wastrels [*sparapani*], given his speed of working together with his handling of paint [*colorito*] and good judgement, his earnings are enough to maintain the splendour of his life.

"Ribera became much admired by Signor Guido [Reni] who thought a good deal of his determination and handling of paint [*colorito*], which for the most part follows the path of Caravaggio, but is more experimental and bolder.

"Here in Rome he was more than a little lax in his behaviour, and although he was very shrewd, nonetheless he sometimes ran into trouble, as when one year at Easter, not being confessed, more through neglect than through bad intentions or any other impediment, fearing that something might happen to him, he asked his friend to obtain for him a *non gravetur*, not knowing that such matters had no *non gravetur*, nor did the court of the governor handle such cases. Notwithstanding this naïveté of his, he had acquired a rhetoric which served him in times of need, as was seen many times by the most illustrious governor Giulio Bunterentij, before whom he was often brought *pro suspitione fugae pro dare* [for suspicion of fleeing his debts]; so well did he plead that the governor lent him money in exchange for a promise that he would paint him some pictures.

"Finally, he departed for Naples. And in truth one could say he acted slightly in bad faith, because when he wanted to work he earned five or six scudi a day, so that if his expenses had been normal, he could quickly and easily have paid everyone. But with the many wastrels he kept he needed no less than such a wage, even though he made do with few household furnishings, which were the following:

Mattresses [rented] for six persons . . . 1 lot
Blankets, double use for covers and
bedlinens 1 lot
Napkins and tablecloths and rags of
assorted design 1 lot
Large multi-purpose plates . . . 1 lot of 100
Flasks for glasses and saucers 1 lot of
100

Seats for sitting, on bricks[?] 10 lots

"Notwithstanding all this and his extravagant ways he had a very great reputation. And what is a greater marvel, he turned aside with sweet words men that had a taste for painting, that were creditors of loans of money, with his chattering, words, and tricks, giving them hope of doing that for which they desired. But the landlords, bakers, butchers, green grocers, and Jews beat on his door and sent bill collectors

with documents called citations at all hours of the night, so that finally, doubtful of the outcome, he departed.

"He made many things here in Rome, and in particular for ***, the Spaniard, who has five very beautiful half figures representing the five senses, a Christ Deposed and others, which in truth are things of most exquisite beauty."

Mancini 1956–57; translation in Felton 1991b, p. 81.

March 23, 1620: Ribera receives a payment for a *Guardian Angel* and a *Pietà* for Marcantonio Doria.

"A Lanfranco Massa D. venticinque et per lui a Gioseppe ribera disse jn conto del prezzo di dui quadri cioè uno di un angelo custode et l'altro di una pietà li ha da fare per servitio del signor marcantonio doria di Genoa" (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale di cassa, Matr. 147, 23 Marzo 1620, f. 377). Two pictures with these same subjects are mentioned in the inventory of Massa's possessions compiled June 13, 1630, after his death.

Delfino 1984.

April 3, 1620: Azzolino, the painter's father-in-law, lends 100 ducats to Ribera. "A Gio Bernardino Azzolino D.100. E per lui a Giuseppe Rivera a compimento di ducati 200 ce li presta gratiosamente per le quali a questo dì li ha fatto vendita di annui ducati 14 delle pigioni fruttate et interesse della della sua casa grande in più membri consistenti et proprio nella strada di Santo Spirito a Chiaia. Notar Pietro Paolo Facciato" (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale del 1620, Matr. 147, 3 aprile). Nappi 1990.

July 4, 1620: Ribera pays 50 ducats to the Della Trinità brothers, from whom he had bought a house.

"A Giuseppe de Ribera D.50. E per lui ad Andrea e notar Pietr'Antonio della Trinità a compimento di ducati 81,50 per una paga

finita a 4 maggio 1620 dell'annui ducati 163 quali li rende per causa de una casa che ha comprato" (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale del 1620, Matr. 146, 4 luglio). Nappi 1990.

August 26, 1620: Lanfranco Massa pays the balance for the *Guardian Angel* for Marcantonio Doria, which Ribera has already delivered. He also loans the painter 30 ducats.

"A Lanfranco Massa D.50. E per lui a Giuseppe de Ribera, dite sono cioè D.20 per un quadro dell'Angelo Custode l'ha fatto e consignato per servitio di Marcantonio Doria di Genua e ducati 30 per impronto per doverli restituire fra il termine d'un mese" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1620, Matr. 157, 26 agosto). Nappi 1990.

September 12, 1620: Ribera's brother-in-law Gabriele Azzolino sells a *Saint Bartholomew* to the Florentine Vincenzo Vettori.

"A Pier Capponi e Cosmo del Sero D.10. E per essi a Vincenzo Vettori per altritanti. E per esso a Gabriele Azzolino per uno ritratto di Santo Bartolomeo del signor Giuseppe Ribera che ce lo ha venduto" (ASBN, Banco della Pietà, Giornale del 1620, Matr. 110, 12 settembre). Nappi 1990.

October 2, 1620: The Tuscans Capponi and Del Sera pay Ribera for a painting of *Saint Jerome in the Desert*.

"A Pier Caponi e Cosmo del Sero; D. trenta e per lui a gioseppe ribera per il prezzo d'uno ritratto de Santo geronimo nel deserto che li ha venduto, consegnato" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale di cassa, Matr. 157, 2 ottobre 1620, f. 183). Delfino 1984.

October 5, 1620: Ribera receives a payment for some paintings executed for the Florentine Vincenzo Vettori.

"A Pier Capponi, e Cosimo del Sero D. diece e per loro a Giuseppe Ribera dissero ce li paga per il loro Vincenzo Vettori in conto de pitture che fa per lui e per esso ad Andrea e Notar Pietro antonio della ternita jn conto di D. cinquanta sei atteso li altri li ha ricevuti da esso contanti per l'annui D. 81.2.10 che ogn'anno li rende per la casa da esso comprata nella Strada di Santo Spirito da detti fratelli e per detto Andrea della trinita al detto Notar Pietro Antonio della trinita per altri tanti" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale di cassa, Matr. 157, 5 ottobre 1620, f. 213).
Delfino 1986.

October 26, 1620: Payment for three paintings of apostles for Vincenzo Vettori.
"A Pier caponi e Cosmo del Sero D. trenta e per loro à Giuseppe Ribera, et se li paghino per illoro vizenzo vettori et esso per il preczo di tre ritratti dapostoli fatti per esso" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale di cassa, Matr. 156, 26 ottobre 1620, f. 311).
Delfino 1984.

November 3, 1620: Ribera receives 20 ducats for two paintings of apostles.
"Banco del Popolo pagate a Giuseppe Ribera ducati venti. Sono ducati dieci per un ritratto di San Paulo Apostolico che mi ha consegnato e l'altri ducati 10 per un ritratto simile che mi ha da fare e consegnare. Napoli a 3 di novembre 1620. Pier Capponi e Spenazzi" (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, polizza emessa il 3 novembre 1620).
Nappi 1990.

November 5, 1620: See the preceding comment.
"A Pier capponi et sero D.venti et per lui a Giuseppe ribera disse cioè D. 10 per uno ritratto di San Paulo consignatoli et D.10 per un altro simile li ha da consignare" (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale di cassa, Matr. 151, 5 novembre 1620, f. 491).
Delfino 1984.

November 10, 1620: Ribera receives 20 ducats owed him by Vincenzo Vettori.
"A Pier Capponi e Cosimo del Sero D.20. e per loro a Giuseppe Ribera dite se li pagano per il loro Vicenzo Vittori et esso perchè ce li deve restituire. Et per esso a Donato d'Augeno per altritanti" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1620, Matr. 156, 10 novembre).
Nappi 1990.

November 18, 1620: Payment for two "heads" for Vincenzo Vettori.
"A Pier Capponi e Cosimo del Sero D. vinti et per loro a Pietro pacifico disse se li pagano per Giuseppe Ribera Pittore per il prezzo de due teste che deve fare per il loro Vettori" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale di cassa, Matr. 157, mercoledì, 18 novembre 1620, f. 401).
Delfino 1986.

September 13, 1621: Payments for unspecified works.
"A Pier di Nari capponi D.10. E per lui a Giuseppe Ribera in conto di alcune opere che fa a loro istanzia" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1621, Matr. 170, 13 settembre).
Nappi 1990.

September 20, 1621: The convent of Trinità delle Monache, in Naples, pays Ribera 40 ducats to acquire pigments for a painting he is to make for the church.
"Al monastero della Trinità D.40. E per lui a Giuseppe Rivera et sono per colori che ha da comprare per uno quadro che ha da fare per per la loro nuova chiesa" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1621, Matr. 169, 20 settembre).
Nappi 1988.

October 14, 1621: Payment from Pier Capponi for two paintings.
"A Pietro de Neri Capponi D.10. E per lui a Giuseppe Ribera in conto de due quadri

che fa per loro servizio. E per esso a Pietro Pacifico per altritanti" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1621, Matr. 169, 14 ottobre).
Nappi 1990.

January 21, 1622: See the preceding comment.
"A Piero de Nari Capponi D.10. E per lui a Giuseppe Ribera dite in conto de spese de pittura che fa per loro. E per esso a Pietro Mango" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1622, Matr. 174, 21 gennaio).
Nappi 1990.

March 15, 1622: Ribera's brother Juan makes an affidavit declaring that his childhood friend the physician Michele Adott is free to marry Elvira, sister of Caterina Azzolino. Juan is stated to be living in his brother's house.

"[Die quinta decima mensis Martij 1622] Examinatus fuit dominus Joannes de Ribera Hispanus Civitatis Valentie Neapolis habitans jn Platea plagie in domo Josephi de Ribera eius Fratris germani pictoris, etatis annos viginti septem in circa . . . Jo ho conosciuto et conosco il signore Michele Geronimo Adott da che me ricordo come a mio paesano che habitavamo in una medesima strada di Valentia, et da quattro anni in circa io lo sò per medico del Signor Marchese di Santa Croce, et con esso tengo prattica, et amicizia stretta per lo che so bene che detto signore Michele geronimo non have havuto, ne al presente tiene moglie in detto luogo che io lo saperia et al presente intendo che si vole casare qua in napoli con la signora Alvira Azzolina figlia di Giovanni Berardino con la quale può liberamente effettuare detto matrimonio. jnt de casa sua. Juan de Ribera" (Napoli, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Processetti matrimoniali, G/J 1622).
Prota-Giurleo 1953.

March 27, 1622: Notary's record (probably the marriage contract of Elvira Azzolino and Michele Adott), which indicates that

Ribera paid an annual sum of 14 ducats to his father-in-law, Azzolino.

“Detto Gio. Berardino promette assegnare in dote alla figlia Donna Elvira ducati mille in questo modo: duc. 200 in denari contanti, altri duc.100 in tanti beni mobili, altri duc. 200 di Capitale, e per essi annui duc.14, che ogni anno deve conseguire ed avere da Gioseffo Ribera, suo genero, sopra tutti i suoi beni e signanter sopra una casa grande del detto Gioseffo, sita in questa città di Napoli et proprie in la strada di Chiaia, mediante cautele fatte per mano di Nr. Pietro Paulo Fiscale in nostra Curia a 2 di aprile 1620, con tutte quelle ragioni et integro loro stato che a detto Gio. Berardino spettano e pertineno in virtù di dette cautele.” (It has not been possible to find this document in the ASN. There is no record of the activities of Notary Francesco Pitigliano, who, Prota-Giurleo states, drew it up. Azzolino had probably made a loan to Ribera to help him acquire his house in the Strada di Santo Spirito.)
Prota-Giurleo 1953.

July 23, 1622: Princess Squillace pays for some unspecified works.
“A Giovanna de Cardinas marchesa di Bitetto D.26. E per lei alla principessa di Squillace sua sorella. E per essa a Giuseppe de Ribera in conto de quadri” (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1622, Matr. 191, 23 luglio).
Nappi 1990.

May 15, 1623: See the preceding comment.
“Alla principessa di Squillace D.100. E per lei a Giuseppe Rivera in conto di uno quatro di pittura che li deve fare” (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale del 1623, Matr. 176, 15 maggio).
Nappi 1990.

June 3, 1623: Ribera receives a payment for a painting (a *Pietà*), which he must execute for Marcantonio Doria.
“A Lanfranco Massa D.25. E per lui a

Giuseppe Ribera a compimento di ducati 82,50 ricevuti in più partite contanti e per Banco et sono in conto di uno quatro li ha dato a fare per servitio di Marco Antonio d’Oria di Genua” (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale del 1623, Matr. 176, 3 giugno).
Nappi 1990.

July 1, 1623: Ribera acts as a witness to the marriage of a certain Luca Castaldo. Quoting Salazar 1895:
“Il 1 Luglio 1623 *Giosepe de Ribera* ed *Horatio Malfitano** sono testimoni del matrimonio di Luca Castaldo con Anna Melone” (Parrocchia della Carità [now San Liborio], Libro primo, Matrimoni, f. 139).
*Author’s italics.
Salazar 1895.

July 7, 1623: Lanfranco Massa settles the account of the *Pietà* for Marcantonio Doria.
“A Lanfranco Massa D.55,57. E per lui a Giuseppe de Rivera a compimento di ducati 150 che l’altri ducati 94,43 l’ha ricevuti in più volte contanti e per banchi. Et sono per uno quatro della *Pietà* l’ha fatto per servitio di Marc’Antonio d’Oria” (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale del 1623, Matr. 176, 7 luglio).
Nappi 1990.

July 12, 1623: Ribera receives a payment from Giovan Battista and Orazio de’ Medici.
“A Gio Batta et Horatio de Medici D.84,43. Et per loro a Giuseppe Rivera” (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale del 1623, Matr. 175, 12 luglio).
Nappi 1990.

1625: Account of the meeting between Jusepe Martínez, the painter from Saragossa, and Ribera.

“Finding myself in Rome in the year 1625 and wishing to return to Spain but not to do so without seeing some other part of Italy, I set out to see the celebrated city of Naples, the most opulent city in all of Italy

for its many princes and lords and the magnificent court of its viceroys, whose grandeur has been seen as more majestic than that of many kings, despite its being only a viceregency. In this court, then, I encountered a celebrated painter, imitator of nature, a countryman from our kingdom of Valencia, from whom I received great courtesy and who showed me some of the chambers and galleries of great palaces; I took great pleasure from it all; but having just come from Rome, everything seemed small to me, because in this city more importance is given to things military and to horsemanship than to things pertaining to the art of drawing; I said this to my countryman and he acknowledged it to be so. Among various conversational topics, I came to ask him how, seeing himself so acclaimed by all nations, he did not consider returning to Spain, for he could be assured his works there were viewed with great veneration. And his response to me was: [“]My very dear friend, I desire it very much, but through the experience of many well-informed and sincere persons I find an impediment [to that intent], which is, to be received the first year as a great painter, but upon the second year to be ignored because, once the person is present, respect is lost; and this has been confirmed to me by having seen several works by excellent masters of [those kingdoms of] Spain held in little esteem, and thus I judge that Spain is a merciful mother to foreigners but a most cruel stepmother to her own children.

“I find myself well admired and esteemed in this city and kingdom, and my works compensated to my complete satisfaction, and so I take the well-known adage to be true: *Quien está bien no se mueva* [He who is happy, let him remain where he is]. [“] With his words I was convinced and aware of the truth of what he said. I asked him whether he had any wish to travel to Rome to see again the original paintings he had studied in the past; he heaved a great sigh, saying: [“]Not only do I long to see them, but I wish to study them again, for they are such great works that they demand to be studied

and meditated upon many times. For although we now paint in a different way and style, the artist who does not base his foundations on these studies will easily end in ruin. He should study especially the history paintings, which are the polestar of the perfection I have told you of, and which can be seen in the stories the immortal Raphael painted in the Holy Palace: whoever studies these works will become a true and consummate history painter.["]

"With these arguments I was apprised that those who have alleged that this great painter prided himself that no one, neither ancient nor modern, had achieved the excellence of his painting, were malicious and people of low nature. . . ."

Martínez 1950; translation by Gabriele Finaldi.

1625: Ribera acts as a witness to Baldassarre Cañizal's (or Cannizzaro's) second marriage, with Giulia Cognone. (Cañizal was the uncle of Caterina Azzolino y India. He was a lecturer in medicine at the Studio Napoletano and in 1616 was named Protomedico Generale del Regno, chief medical officer of the realm.)

Prota-Giurleo 1953.

January 19, 1626: As a witness, Ribera signs the marriage contract of Giovanni Dò and Maria Grazia de Rosa. Dò was a painter from Játiva, like Ribera, and had been in Naples for about three years. Grazia de Rosa was the adopted daughter of the painter Filippo Vitale and the sister of Pacecco de Rosa, also a painter.

Prota-Giurleo 1951.

January 29, 1626: A letter of petition requesting that Ribera be admitted to the Order of Christ. Another document indicates that he was admitted to the order in a ceremony held at Saint Peter's, Rome, on January 29, 1626.

"Gioseppe di Rivera Pittore eccellente [e] residente in Napoli humilissima creatura

della sanita vostra humilmente la supplica a fargli gratia di onorarlo della Croce di Cavaliere di Christo concessa ad altri pittori eccelenti, poiche per tale è stato cognosciuto essere [creduto?] si nella Accademia di S.Luca di Roma nella quale si veneno am[m]essi solo i pittori che si son[n]o hauti per tali, come anco dalla testimonianza che ne fara fare bisognando da chi si ordinara, e il detto ricevera a gratia . . . dalla santita vostra quam Deus, etc. Valentiano."

"Dilecto filio Josepho de Rivera Neapolitano Urb[anus] P[apa] Pontifex [?] Dilecto [filio] etc. Religionis zelus etc. indicunt etc. consulamus. Hinc est quod nos volentes te qui, ut asseris, de nobili genere procreatus* exis[tris] quique ob melioris vitae frugem in militia Jesu Ch[ris]ti sub r[egu] la Sancti Aug[usti]ni una cum dilectis filiis illius mag[n]o mag[is]tro seu Admin[istrato]re et fr[at]ribus militibus sub r[egu]lari habitu virtutum D[omi]no famulari desideras, in h[uius] modi tuo laudabili proposito confovere, seque praemissorum meritorum tuorum intuitu spe[ci]alibus favoribus et gratijs prosequi et a quibusvis etc. censentes, supp[licationi]bus tuo . . . ? [nomine in-clinati] tibi ut a [venerabili fratre Episcopo** . . .] . . . , cuiad hoc plenam per p[rease]ntes fac[ulta]tem tribuimus accitis et in hoc sibi assistent[ibus] uno seu duobus d[ic]tae militae fr[at]ribus quem vel quos [ad hoc] duxeris eligendum seu heligendos, h[ab]itum per fr[at]res d[ic]tae militiae gestari solitum suscipere, illumque publicae gestare, ac in illius manibus professionem per eosdem emitti consuetam expresse et incontinenti post h[ab]itus h[uius] modi susceptionem emittere reg[ula]rem; nec non postquam h[ab]itum h[uius] modi susceperis et professionem emisieris ut p[raefer]tur, omnibus et singulis privil[eg]ijs immunitatibus exemptionibus et praerogativis [concessis] quibus alij militiae h[uius] modi equites et[iam] qui h[ab]itum a Rege Portug[alli]ae d[ic]tae militiae perp[et]uo Admin[istrato]re per Sedem p[raedic]tam deputato susceperunt et professionem [in

illibus manibus] . . . [?] emisierunt, de jure usu statuto consuetudine aut alias quomodolibet utuntur fruuntur et gaudent, ac uti frui et gaudere possunt et poterunt quomodolibet in futurum, pari modo uti frui et gaudere libere et licite possis et valeas apo[stolica] aucto[ritate] te[n]ore p[rease]ntium conced[imus] et indulgemus Non obstant[ibus] const[ituti]onibus et ord[ination]ibus apo[stolic]is ac de militiae [e]quitibus etc. roboratis statutis et consuetud[ini]bus privil[eg]ijs quoq[ue] ind[ic]tis et his apo[stolic]is eidem militiae [?] magno mag[is]tro Snr. [?] Admard[o] et quibus militibus alijsque sup[er]ioribus et personis sub quibuscumque . . . ? . . . et formis . . . ?

. ? . . . ? . . . omnibus . . . ? . . . quibuscumque. Datum Romae apud S[anctum] Petrum etc. die 29 Jan[ua]rii 1626 a[n]no D[omi]ni. similis [?] pro Benedicto Canti [?] Cortonen [?] similis pro Joanne manieri [?] Politianen [?]" (Vaticano, Archivio Segreto, Segreteria dei Brevi [Urbanus VIII], v. 709, fols. 488r, 488v, 490r).

* The document inaccurately affirms the noble origins of the painter.

** The name of the bishop who presented the habit is not recorded.

Chenault 1976.

May 3, 1626: Ribera acts as a witness to the marriage of the Spanish painter Giovanni Dò. Quoting Salazar 1895:

"Il 3 maggio 1626 Giovanni Dò, spagnolo, della parrocchia di San Francesco e Matteo, sposa Gratia di Rosa nap. na zita della Charità. Presenti per testimoni il signor Gio. Batta Caracciolo et il sig. Giuseppe di Ribera" (Parrocchia della Carità [now San Liborio], Libro primo, Matrimoni, f. 153). Salazar 1895.

1626: Document that attests that Ribera cared for the children of his recently widowed sister-in-law Anna (née Azzolino) Biancardo in his house. The Biancardo family "conoscendo molto bene il zelo, amorevolezza et bona volontà che detta Anna tiene verso li figli Luise, Carlo,

Diego, Gioannantonio et Pietro, et che con l'istessa amorevolezza vengono trattati e protetti nella casa di Giuseppe de Rivera, Cognato di detta Anna, et di Gio. Bernardino Azzolino, avo materno di detti figliuoli, in casa delli quali al presente si educano e si disciplano, asserisce esser venuta all'infra-scritta convenzione, per la quale detta Anna resti libera tutrice et amministratrice delle persone et beni di detti suoi figli . . ." (This document was probably among the untraced papers of the notary Francesco Pitigliano.) Prota-Giurleo 1953.

August 8, 1626: The princess Squillace pays 20 ducats to Ribera for a painting she had commissioned from him.

"A [Locretia de Cardines] principessa di Squillace D.20. E per lei a Giuseppe de Ribera in conto di uno quadro che l'haverà da fare. Et per esso a Geronimo de Gusman" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1626, Matr. 221, 8 agosto).

Nappi 1990.

January 18, 1627: Baptism of Antonio Simone, first son of the painter.

"Adi 18 di genaro 1627

"Ant.o Simone Gioseppe figlio del sig.r Gioseppe de Ribera e della s.ra Catarina Azolino coniugi estato battezzato de D. Gio. Camillo rossi Curato in S. Marco. lo Comp.e lo sig.e fran.o Ant.o Cara mazza, et la com.e la sig.ra D.Isabella d'Errera" (Parrocchia di S. Marco dei Tessitori, Libro quarto dei battesimi, settembre 1622 a febbraio 1634, f. 56v).

Salazar 1894.

April 13, 1627: The chapter of the Colegiata of Osuna, near Seville, expresses gratitude to the duchess of Osuna, Catalina Enríquez, for the gift of ten paintings, including Ribera's *Crucifixion*, still in Osuna. "Catalina Enriquez gave: 'diez quadros de excelente pintura que truxo de italia que fueron de ser como dicho es son de gran precio y en particular un quadro de un

santo Crusifixo que está en lo mas alto deel altar que exede a toda pintura, y en quanto a estimasion de precio era ynposible que con toda la rrenta del cavildo y fabrica se pudiese pagar . . . que mi Sra. la duquesa de Ossuna la mayor Dona Catalina Franca. Enriques de Ribera muger que fue deel exmo. Sor. don Pedro Giron tercero Duque de Ossuna virrey que fue de los rreinos de Scicilia y napole ntro. patrono a hecho a esta Sta. iglesia infinitas mercedes y limosnas y ultimamente se pussiese dies quadros de exelente pintura que truxo de italia'" (Archivo de la Colegiata de Osuna).

Rodríguez-Buzón Calle 1982.

October 2, 1627: Payment for a *Crucifixion of Saint Andrew*.

"A Matthio Noris D. quaranta e per lui al Cavaliere Giuseppe de Ribera disse jn conto d'uno quadro de pittura del martirio di Santo Andrea sopra una tela alta palmi 8½ et larga palmi 7 che li doverà consegnare cossi d'accordio con lui per tutto il mese de X.bre proximo venturo e per lui ad Giovanni de Ribera per altri tanti e per lui ad Giovanni Jacovo Suardo per altri tanti" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale di cassa, Matr. 223, sabato 2 ottobre 1627, f. 333).

Delfino 1985.

February 15, 1628: Antonio Carmignano pays Ribera for an unspecified painting.

"Ad Antonio Carmignano D.15. E per lui a Gioseppe Ribera ad complimento di ducati 100, dite sono per un quadro che l'ha fatto et consegnato. E per lui a Guan di Ribera" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1628, Matr. 226, 15 febbraio).

Nappi 1990.

July 31, 1628: Letter from Lanfranco Massa in Naples to Marcantonio Doria in Genoa, in which reference is made to a painting of Saint John the Evangelist, which Ribera was to execute for Doria.

"Il compare Gio: Ber.no [Azzolino] ancora

non è venuto a pigliar le tele di . . . mi promise lo farò solecitare cossi per il buon ladrone, come per l'altri quatri è farò che il Pr: Evangelista che ha da fare il Spagnoletto, sia San Giovanni per la conna che V.S. Desidera della Santissim.a nuntiata potra dire la misura della alteza e larghezza perche se bene per an.ra non ci ho parlato non lascerà di farla essendo questa l'arte sua . . ." (ASN, Archivio Doria Angri, parte II, b287).

Pacelli 1980.

November 7, 1628: Ribera receives a payment from Giovanni de Allegria for two paintings that he must execute for Ricevitore Generale Pietro de Ecceveria.

"A Gio de Allegria scudi 13 e 1/3. E per esso a Gioseppe de Rivera in conto di due quadri che have da fare per il Ricevitore Generale Pietro de Ecceveria. E per lui a Francesco Serra per altritanti" (ASBN, Banco di San Giacomo, Giornale del 1628, Matr. 133, 7 novembre).

Nappi 1990.

November 25, 1628: Baptism of Ribera's second son, Jacinto Tomás. It is probable that this child died very young since he is not referred to in any other documents.

"Adi 25 di gbre 1628

"Hiacinto Tomaso figlio del Cavalier Gioseppe de Rivera, et di Caterina Azzolino coniugi, è stato battezzato da D. Gio. Camillo rossi Cu.to nella Chiesa parle di S. Marco di Palazzo* il Comp.e il s.r Vinc.o imperiale, la Com.e felice carmignano" (Parrocchia di S. Marco dei Tessitori, Libro quarto dei battesimi, f. 83).

* San Marco dei Tessitori changed its name to San Marco di Palazzo soon after its foundation.

Salazar 1894.

May 6, 1629: Ribera and his sister-in-law are recorded as godparents of Giuseppe Parella.

"Adi 6 di maggio 1629

“Gioseppe fran.co figlio d’Alesadro parella splo di Siviglia, et di Lucretia fonseca Nap.na coiugi di q.a par.a nato li 2 di d.o fu batto da D. Gio. Camillo Rossi Cu.to nella Chiesa parle di S. Marco di Palazzo di Nap. il Comp.e il s.r Gioseppe rivera Valetiano, la Com.e la S.ra Fran.ca Azzolino figlia di Gio Bernadino Azzolino nap.na ambidue di q.a par.a” (Parrocchia di San Marco dei Tessitori, Libro quarto dei battesimi, f. 91v).
Salazar 1894.

After 1630: Along with Massimo Stanzione, Ribera appraises eighteen works by Paolo Finoglia in the Certosa di San Martino.
“Li quatro ystorie Magore de la lamia dusientos ducados200
le altre quatro ystorie Minore a ragon de quarenta siento y sesenta ducati160
la ystoria de lo Meso con li quatro putini otanta ducati80
las dos ystorias grandes a fresco una con otra dusientos y sesenta260
par sinco virtute chento ducate100
800

li duy quadri a olio de San Martino
duchento ducati luno400
1200

yo Jusepe de Ribera he apresiado ut supra
Jusepe de Ribera
Io Massimo Stantione ho apprezzato ut supra
Massimo Stantione“
(ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 81r). This document is the appraisal of works executed by Finoglia in the Cappella di San Martino di Tours in the Church of the Certosa di San Martino. It should be dated to after 1630 since Stanzione was in Rome from 1625 to 1630. A note on folio 83v reads: “Apprezzo della pittura di Paolo” (Appraisal of the painting of Paolo).
Faraglia 1892.

February 28, 1630: Ribera acts as godfather to a certain Isabella de Flores.
“Adi 28 di feb.o 1630

“Isabella Beatrice Giovana figlia di Dom.co de Flores e di Anna Medozza di S.ta M.a di Capua coniugi di q.a par.a nata à 25 di d. estata batta da D. Gio. Camillo Rossi Cu.to nella Chiesa parle di S.Marco di Palazzo di Nap. lo Comp.e Gioseppe de Rivera figlio de Simone de Rivera de Valetia la Com.e Belluccia buon’hora moglie di Gio. Ant.o lisciano figlia di Gio. Pietro bon’hora di Palermo ambidui li comp.ri di q.a par.a” (Parocchia di San Marco dei Tessitori, Libro quarto dei battesimi, f. 107r).
Salazar 1894.

April 22, 1630: Baptism of Ribera’s first daughter, Margarita.

“Adi 22 di aple 1630
“Margarita figlia di Gioseppe de rivera de Valetia e di Caterina azzolino Nap.na coiugi di q.a par.a nata à 14 di d.o estata batta da D.Gio.Camillo rossi Cut.o nella Chiesa parle di S.Marco di Palazzo di Nap. il Comp.e il s.r D.Luis Moncada Precipe figlio di D.Ant. Moncada Duca di Mont’alto di Colisano terra di Sicilia la Com.e la S.ra D.Artemisia garrafa Marchesa di Vico figlia del s.r Gio. Vinc.o garrafa nap.na moglie di D.Antonio Sciouares ambi li Comp.i della par.a di S.Anna” (Parocchia di San Marco dei Tessitori, Libro quarto dei battesimi, f. 111r).
Salazar 1894.

[December 19, 1630: A certain “Gio. de riviera” is mentioned in a list of 618 people who accompanied the infanta María, sister of Philip IV, to the German frontier to meet her husband, King Ferdinand of Hungary.

“D(on) Gio: de riviera Canco – 1”
(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Avviso, Cod. urb. lat. v. 1100, f. 83v).
Chenault proposed that this “Gio de Rivi-

era” was the painter Jusepe, but this hypothesis is here refuted. The name, followed by the title of canon, appears in the list close to those of the cardinal of Seville and other prelates, which would suggest that he, too, was a clergyman. In a volume of the duke of Alcalá’s correspondence (he was viceroy at the time of Queen Mary’s stay in Naples), I found three letters addressed to a certain “Don Jus. de Ribera,” who was actually accompanying the queen on her journey (BN MS 9882, letters dated December 30, 1630; January 28, 1631; and August 26, 1631). Their content, which deals primarily with ecclesiastical topics, forbids us to suppose that he is a painter. He is certainly identical with the person in the Vatican list, who therefore cannot be our Jusepe de Ribera.
Chenault 1969.]

December 20, 1630: The procurator of the count of Monterrey (ambassador to the papal court in Rome) makes a payment to Ribera for two paintings.

“A Gio Batta de Mari Francisci scudi 100. E per esso a Giuseppe de Rivera valutati ducati 150 che ce li paga de ordine del signor conte de Montereì a conto de dui quadri che fa a Sua Eccellenza” (ASBN, Banco di san Giacomo, Giornale del 1630, Matr. 145, 20 dicembre).
Nappi 1990.

February 11, 1631: In a letter to the Senate, the Venetian consul in Naples states that Ribera is painting a portrait of a bearded woman (Magdalena Ventura).

“Nelle stanze del V.Re stava un pittore famosissimo facendo un ritratto di una donna Abbruzzese maritata e madre di molti figli, la quale ha la faccia totalmente virile, con più di un palmo di barba nera bellissima, ed il petto tutto peloso, si prese gusto sua Eccellenza di farmela vedere, come cosa meravigliosa, et veramente è tale” (Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Dispacci

degli Ambasciatori [Napoli], Senato III, filza 50, N. 65).
De Vito 1983.

July 17, 1631: Baptism of Ribera's second daughter, Anna Luisa.

"Adi 17 luglio 1631

"Anna luisa figlia di Gioseppe Rivera di Valentia e di Caterina Azzolino Nap.na coniugi di questa parr.a nacque à 11 del detto è stata battezzata da D. Gio. Camillo Rossi Cur.to nella Chiesa parrle de Santo Marco il Compad.e D.Antonio Miscia di Castiglia della parr.a di S.to Gioseppe la Comad.e la sig.a Anna Maria Silverio moglie di fran.co Visconti et figlia [the writer left a blank space at this point] Nap.na di questa parr.a" (Parrocchia di San Marco dei Tessitori, Libro quarto dei battesimi, f. 132v).
Salazar 1894.

August 7, 1632: Ribera buys a carriage and two mules from his sister-in-law.
"A Giuseppe de Ribera D.60. E per esso a Anna Aczolino a compimento di ducati 150 per prezzo, vendita e consignatione fattoli di una carrozza negra di compagnia con un paro di mule negre vendute per tale quale sono non obstante la conditione di Napoli et della bontà et prezzo de detta carrozza et mule mi è contento" (ASBN, Banco dell'Annunziata, Giornale del 1632, Matr. 148, 7 agosto).
Nappi 1990.

August 24, 1632: Ribera returns 100 ducats to the prince of Montesarchio because he has been unable to finish a commissioned painting of Saint Lawrence.
"A Giuseppe de Rivera D.100. E per esso a Gio d'Avalos principe di Montesarchio in virtù di mandato del consigliere Andrea Marchese commessario delegato. E sono per quelli che detto Giuseppe de Rivera fe deposito sotto li 18 agosto 1632 per quelli pagare a Gio d'Avalos per tanti che detto

principe li donò de caparra in conto della valuta de un quadro di S.Lorenzo da farsi per detto Giuseppe et non havendolo possuto finire per esso l'opera l'è stato fatto mandato di restituire detta somma" (ASBN, Banco dell'Annunziata, Giornale del 1632, Matr. 148, 24 agosto).
Nappi 1990.

December 9, 1633: Ribera witnesses the will of his father-in-law, Azzolino. This is the first will drawn up on behalf of Azzolino by the notary Pitigliano; another two, of May 15, 1641, and March 12, 1644, will follow.
Prota-Giurleo 1953.

May 9, 1634: Baptism of Ribera's third son, Francisco Antonio.
"Adi 9 maggio 1634

"Fran.co Ant.o And.a figlio di Gioseppe di Rivera della Citta di Sativa nel regno di Valentia, et di Caterina azzolina Nap.na coiugi di q.a Parr.a nacque adi 2 del d.o fu battezzato da D.Gio. Camillo Rossi Cur.to nella Chiesa Parrle di S. Marco di Palazzo di Nap. Il Comp.re il sig.r D. Fran.co Cócubletta Marchese dell'Arena Nap.no di qu.a Parr.a la Comare la sig.ra D. Raimunda Puccia moglie del sig.r D. Diego Mandrizez di Barzellona di q.a Parr.a" (Parrocchia di San Marco dei Tessitori, Libro quinto dei battesimi, febbraio 1634– novembre 1639, f. 4).
Salazar 1894.

Before June 24, 1634: King Philip IV pays for works by Ribera from his secret account for the decoration of the Buen Retiro Palace in Madrid.
"Relacion de los gastos de las Pinturas . . . para el adorno del Buen Retiro en las fiestas de San Juan y San Pedro del ano 1634. num.o P.o: Primeramente treynta y cinco mil noventa y seis Rs en vellon que se pagaron en esta manera cinco mill ciento y noventa y seys Rs a D Rodrigo de Tapia

por un quadro de Satiro de Juesepe de Ribera, siete millquatrocientos y cincuenta Rs. que se pagaron al mismo de un quadro de Adonis y Benus y por una moldura que dio para el Satiro . . . y los trece mill y ducientos restantes se pagaron a la Marquessa de Chavela por el precio de quatro quadros los dos dellos de las furias* y los otros dos de la fabula de Adonis" (Madrid BN, MS. 7797, p. 119).

* These are an *Ixion* and a *Sisyphus*, according to the list of works acquired by Jerónimo de Villanueva for the Buen Retiro. The *Ixion* must be the work now in the Prado (Brown and Elliott 1980 refers to the acquisition of these works).

October 3, 1634: Postscript to a letter from the duke of Alcalá (now viceroy in Palermo) to his agent in Naples, Sancho de Céspedes, in which he gives instructions for the commissioning of a *Madonna* from Ribera and for the acquisition of a painter's mannequin.

In the margin: "La memoria que se remitió a Sancho de Cespedes con el despacho de 3 de 8bre 1634."

"A Joseph de Ribera se ha de encargar de parte de Su Excelencia, que pinte una imagen de Nuestra Señora que esté trabadas las manos y el rostro el más angustiado que pueda. El rostro ha de mirar hacia la mano izquierda como si puesta en el altar al lado de el Evangelio mirase a la parte de la Epístola, porque ha de corresponder a otra imagen de San Francisco que está al lado de la Epístola. La medida del claro del lienzo es la que va aquí y Sancho de Céspedes del dinero que tiene de Su Excelencia satisfará el trabajo a Joseph de Ribera.

"También Sancho de Céspedes mandará hacer una figura de madera del tamaño del natural de las que llaman los pintores manequines, dicen que las hacen bien en Nápoles y para esto lo comunicará con el mesmo Joseph de Ribera que él dirá quien lo hará mejor y se le dirá que acuda alguna vez a ver como se hace por que tenga toda

la perfección que sea posible . . . La cinta blanca es la medida del lienzo toda ella es el alto i hasta la contadura el ancho” (Madrid BN, MS. 9883, f. 155r). Saltillo 1941.

November 1, 1634: Letter from the duke of Alcalá (in Monreale) to Céspedes, inquiring how the commission given to Ribera is progressing.

“Huelgo de saber el estado en que quedaba la imagen que ha de hacer Jusephe de Ribera y el manequin a todo dareis priesa particularmente a Jusephe pues lo que tiene que hacer en esto es tan poco y creo que suele descuidarse cuando no se lo acuerdan” (Madrid BN, MS. 9883, f. 179r). Saltillo 1941.

June 17, 1635: Letter from the duke of Alcalá (in Palermo) to Céspedes, telling him to have Ribera prepare a printing plate to be used for a book of the laws issued in Sicily.

“Aquí se stampa un libro de todas las pregmáticas del reino y el principio que querría que fuese muy bien cortado, hase hecho un dibujo que os remito con ésta para que hagáis que le corte Joseph de Ribera, encargándole de mi parte que venga como de su mano y con mucha brevedad. Y satisfareisle lo que fuere justo y la lámina cortada me la enviareis para que acá se estampe y acomode en el libro” (Madrid BN, MS. 9883, f. 280v, 281r). Saltillo 1941.

July 11, 1635: Gregorio Panzani, the papal agent accredited to Queen Henrietta Maria of England, wife of Charles I, writes from London to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, secretary of state in Rome, stating that the king would not be displeased to receive pictures by Ribera, Lanfranco, and Carracci (presumably Annibale or Ludovico), since he has none in his collection.

“Ho’ parlato con un Pittor Fiorentino, che è quà assai buono, chiamato il Gentileschi,

et destramente gli hò dimandato del Rè, e mi ha confirmado, che il Rè hà buon naso in queste materie, et credo non gli spiaceranno l’opere del Lanfranco, del Spagnoletto, et del Caraccio, per non havere questo Rè opere delli detti, sicome hà delli altri pittori celebri” (Public Record Office, London, Roman Transcripts 31/9, 17B, letter dated July 11, 1635). Wittkower 1948.

July 12, 1635: See the comment for DA, June 17, 1635.

“Joseph de Ribera corta para las estampas excelentemente de agua ardiente, y en mi tiempo había empezado a cortar en Ramo [*sic*] y así le propondreis que corte la que os envié, que si el quiere hacerlo ninguno sabe mejor” (Madrid BN, MS. 9883, f. 312v). Saltillo 1941.

August 20, 1635: Letter from the duke of Alcalá to Céspedes stating that the printing plate has arrived.

“La lámina para el principio del libro de las pregmáticas todo vino muy bueno y si fuere menester que allá se estampe, se os avisará” (Madrid BN, MS. 9883, f. 334v). Saltillo 1941.

1635: Ribera acts as a witness to the marriage of a daughter of Baldassarre Cañizal and Dr. Gian Battista Porcelli. Prota-Giurleo 1953.

November 19, 1635: Ribera pays 15 ducats to the procurator of the Monastery of Santa Maria del Monte, Nocera.

“A Giuseppe de ribera D.15,37. Et per esso al procuratore del monastero di S.M. del Monte di Nocera di Pagani per lo censo che li rende della casa sua sita alla strada di Santo Spirito e strada di Chiaia per lo censo maturato alla metà di agosto 1635 prossimo passato” (ASBN, Banco di San Giacomo, Giornale del 1635, Matr. 177, 19 novembre). Nappi 1990.

April 1, 1636: In Cosimo Fanzago’s contract to make some marble altars for the count of Monterrey, reference is made to the *San Gennaro* (now in Salamanca) by Ribera.

“... el Cavro Cosme Fanzago escultor . . . se obligó de hazer por servicio de Su Ex.a el Sr. Conde de Monte Rey la ynfascrita obra: Dos Altares de Colateral de marmol enbutidos por ornamento de un S.to Genaro á proporcion del echo por mano de Jusepe de Rivera, el qual está en poder de Su Ex.a . . .” (ASN, Notai del Seicento, Andrea Fasano, Scheda 87, Protocollo 13, f. 33v). Prota-Giurleo 1957.

May 7, 1636: Advance payment for twelve paintings of philosophers for the prince of Liechtenstein, Karl Eusebius (1611–1684). “Partita di ducati 100, estinta il 7 maggio. A Lorenzo Cambi e Simone Verzone D.100. E per lui a Gioseppe de Ribera, dite se li pagano per ordine del conte Carlo Felesbergh et esserno in conto di D.500 per il valore di dodici quadri d’altezza e di palmi cinque e palmi quattro di larghezza in ognuno dei quali ci ha da essere dipinto un filosofo di sua propria mano che ha pigliato a fare per servitio di don Carlo Felisbergh et quelli han da consegnare a loro fra sei mesi et mancando de consignarea loro fra sei mesi et mancando de consignare debbia restituire tutto il denaro ad ogni loro è piacere” (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1636, Matr. 270, 7 maggio). Nappi 1983; Felton 1986.

October 9, 1636: Baptism of Maria Francesca, Ribera’s third and last daughter.

“A di 9 di ott.e 1636

“Maria Francesca figlia di Gioseppe de Rivera et di Catherina azzolino coniugi di q.ta par.a nacque à 4 del d.o è stata batta da D. Gio. Camillo Rossi Cur.to nella par.le chiesa di San Marco di Palazzo il s.r Compadre il s.r Pietro Paulella Nap.o la Com.e D. Antonia Saracina Nap.a della par.a di Santa Maria Mag.re” (Parrocchia

di S. Marco dei Tessitori, Libro quinto dei battesimi).
Salazar 1894.

April 20, 1637: Another payment for the series of twelve philosophers.
“A Lorenzo Cambi, e Simone Verzoni D. cinquanta, e per lui à Gioseppe de Ribera disse sono à complimento di D. Duecentocinquanta, atteso l'altri D.200 l'ha ricevuto per mezzo de banco, e detti sono in conto de D. cinquecento . . . [*sic*] valore de dodeci quatri . . . [*sic*] che li fà, delli quali quatri n'hanno di già ricevuto sei, e li altri sei celi deve consignare ad ogni loro piacere, e per lui à Gioseppe de fusco per altri tanti” (ASBN, Banco dello Santo Spirito, Giornale di cassa, Matr. 277, lunedì, 20 aprile 1637, f. 356).
Delfino 1985; Felton 1986.

October 3, 1637: Payment for the *Pietà* in the Certosa di San Martino.
“A 3 di ottobre 1637 al suddetto (Ribera) per quadro dela Pietà che sta nella Sagrestia ducati 400” (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 40r).
Faraglia 1892.

October 17; October 20; November 17; November 23, 1637: Ribera buys some wooden planks and pays for work done in his house.
Nappi 1990.

1638: Among the manuscripts of the genealogist Salazar y Castro in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, there is this genealogy of Ribera that was sent by the notary of the Holy Office in Játiva to the Inquisitor General.
“Jusepe de Rivera, insigne pintor llamado en Italia el españolito, fué natural de Játiva, y el año 1638 envió al Inquisidor general esta genealogia Juan Bautista Martí, vecino de Játiva, Notario del Secreto del Santo Oficio.— padre Simón Ribera, zapatero

natural de Ruzafà, cerca de Valencia. Abuelos paternos, N.Ribera, natural de Ruzafa, y Juana Navarro, natural de Teruel. – Madre Margarita Ana SELLERES,* natural de Játiva. Abuelos maternos, Bartolomé SELLERES, zapatero, natural de Barcelona, y Agustina Brú, natural de Játiva” (Salazar y Castro, Catalogo de Manuscritos Genealogicos, vol. 16, no. 27.663, Ref. D-34, f. 123v).
* Third wife of Simón Ribera; see above, February 4, 1607.
San Petrillo 1953.

February 1, 1638: Payment for the Prophets for San Martino.*
“A primo de febraio 1638 al suddetto [Ribera] incontro delli Profeti che sta facendo per la nostra Chiesa duc.100 etc” (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 40r).
* They were completed before September 1643.
Faraglia 1892.

August 11, 1638: Payment for a frame for a painting by Ribera belonging to the duke of Medina de las Torres.
“A Don Pietro Bazan duc. cinque e per lui a Domenico dello Giodice, et sono per una cornice che ha fatto d'ebano per servitio del Duca de las Torres, et Sebioneta suo Signore a un quadro della firma di Gioseppe de Rivera” (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale copiapolizze, Matr. 289, p. 15, 11.8.1638).
Rizzo 1987.

1639: Ribera issues a power of attorney, drawn up by the notary Pitigliano, to Francesco Maffei, an officer of the military company of the duke of Medina de las Torres, in which the painter's son Francisco had obtained a commission.
“... ad esigere, recuperare ed havere dai Sindaci, Eletti, e dagli huomini et particolari di qualsivogliano Città, luochi e Terre del Regno, ddove starà alloggiata detta Compagnia, tutte quelle quantità di danari

spectantino et si devono et doveranno al detto Don Francesco, suo figlio, per causa della sua Cartella come Homo d'Arma*” (presumably among the untraced papers of the notary Francesco Pitigliano).
* At the age of five, Francisco had been granted this title by Medina de las Torres, which entitled him to a stipend and other honors (see Prota-Giurleo 1953, p. 108).
Prota-Giurleo 1953.

March 17, 1639: Ribera receives 100 ducats for a painting commissioned by Antonio Zappino of Palermo.
“Ad Onofrio Bianco D.100. Et per lui a Gioseppe de Rivera, dite pagarli d'ordine di don Franco Ferrara datoli con sue lettere, disse farglieli pagare in conto del prezzo d'un quadro che l'haverà da fare e consignare per servizio d'Antonio Zappino di Palermo e della qualità e grandezza che detto Antonio ha scritto” (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale del 1639, Matr. 231, 17 marzo).
Nappi 1990.

May 27, 1639: Iacinto de Selva, tenant in Ribera's house, pays rent.
“A Iacinto de Selva D.50. E per esso a Giuseppe de Rivera per l'uscita de una casa dove al presente habita nella strada de Chiaia a ducati 100 l'anno, dichiarando essere soddisfatto del passato per insino a 13 de maggio 1639” (ASBN, Banco di San Giacomo, Giornale del 1639, Matr. 192, 27 maggio).
Nappi 1990.

August 23, 1639: Letter from Giovanni Lanfranco in Naples to Ferrante Carlo in Rome. Lanfranco has made a copy of a painting of Vesuvius by Ribera.
“Mentre mi son trattenuto in Napoli, ho avuto in mente il desiderio che teneva di un Vesuvio; però non ho mai veduto cosa di mio gusto, nè meno mi ha piaciuto il far d'alcuni che ne professano; però avendone a caso veduto uno in Palazzo il meglio che

abbia veduto, per esser assai al naturale, dimandai del maestro, il quale dissero esser morto, ma alcuni mi dissero esser di Giuseppe Rivera. Ma, sia come si voglia, non potendosi aver quello, nemmeno il maestro, m'hanno favorito lasciarlo copiare. . . ."

Bottari and Ticozzi 1822–25.

March 15; October 6; October 9, 1640: Ribera pays 70 ducats to a certain Iacomo Morone and buys some doors for his house. Nappi 1990.

April 25, 1641: The deputies of the Cappella di San Gennaro in the Cathedral of Naples select Ribera to write a report on the state of the unfinished frescoes by Domenichino. "25 aprile 1641. Dovendosi riconoscere la pittura fatta dal quondam Domenico Zampei si per posser fare il saldo con li heredi del detto Domenico come per vedere quali delle figure restano da finirsi et se vi è motivo nelle toniche, et essendosi per la parte electo il Cavalier Massimo, per la nostra Deputatione s'ellege il Sig. Gioseppo Rivera, à quali s'habbia da consegnare lo istrumento di detta pittura, et in scriptis haverne relatione di quanto passa sopra detta materia" (Napoli, Archivio della Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro). Strazzullo 1978.

May 6, 1641: Ribera is commissioned to paint a large altarpiece on copper for the Cappella di San Gennaro in the Cathedral. "6 maggio 1641. Congregati i Signori deputati del glorioso S.Gennaro nel luoco solito, han concluso che la tavola grande di rame che sta nella Capella si consegnì a Gioseffo Ribera, da quale si dovrà far la istoria del glorioso S. Gennaro nela fornace" (Napoli, Archivio della Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro). Strazzullo 1978.

June 6, 1641: See the preceding comment. "6 giugno 1641. Si è appuntato che il

quadro da farsi sopra lo rame che tiene la Deputatione si dia al Cav. Gioseffo Ribera, il quale debba farvi la istoria delo glorioso S.Gennaro ala fornace, et l'altro se dia al Cav. Stantione" (Napoli, Archivio della Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro). Strazzullo 1978.

June 13, 1641: Following the submission of the report drawn up by Ribera and Stanzione (see April 25, 1641), the Deputation of the Cappella di San Gennaro decides to assign the frescoes to Giovanni Lanfranco.

"13 Giugno 1641. Inteso in sessione la relatione fatta dalli Signori Gioseffo Ribera et Massimo Statione che la pittura fatta nela Cupola del Thesoro del glorioso S.Gennaro non è di mano del quondam Domenico Zampei (conforme l'obbligo che vi tenea) ma di altri, et mal posta in opra. . . . Et dovendosi eligere altra persona. . . . s'è concluso che detta pittura faciando nela detta Cupola se dia al detto Giovanni [Lanfranco] . . ." (Napoli, Archivio della Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro). Strazzullo 1978.

October 15, 1641: Payment for the *San Gennaro Emerging Unscathed from the Furnace*, which Ribera is painting for the Cappella di San Gennaro.

"15 ottobre 1641. Al Sig. Gioseffo Ribera duc. 400 a conto della tavola ad oglio sta pintando" (Napoli, Archivio della Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro). Strazzullo 1978.

October 24, 1641: Notarial document which indicates that in 1640 Ribera had bought a large house in the Chiaia quarter of Naples. "... una grande casa palaziata, composta da più e diversi membri superiori e inferiori con un giardino piccolo ed un altro grande contiguo al monte, fruttato, vitato e seminatorio, siti in questa città di Napoli e propriamente nel subborgo di Chiaia, ove dicesi l'Ascensione e quelli della Chiesa di Santa Teresa degli Scalzi, via pubblica,

ecc . . ." (Napoli, Ex-Archivio Notarile, notaio P. A. della Trinità). I could find no papers for 1641 by this notary in the ASN. Prota-Giurleo 1953.

October 26; December 5, 1641: Ribera pays taxes on the house he acquired in 1640. Nappi 1990.

November 3, 1641: Letter from Cristoforo Papa, protonotary of the Kingdom of Sicily, to Ribera, in which the artist is commissioned to paint a *Nativity*.

"Per altra mia lettera supplicai Vostra Signoria acciò mi havesse favorito farmi un quadro della Natività di Nostro Signore dell'istessa Grandezza del quadro della Sepultura, e positura per dritto, et intendendo che Vostra Signoria fosse occupato per altri quadri (come m'ha detto il Signor Almirante nostro Vicerè che Vostra Signoria era occupato per esso) per tal causa non l'ho supplicato di novo.

"Per il che di novo la supplico a volermi fare un quadro della Nascita di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, dell'istessa Grandezza et Forma per dritto come quello che Vostra Signoria mi fece della Sepultura, cioè, che sij per longo et non per quadro culcato, et in effetto sij paro in tutto et per tutto di detto quadro, et havendomi celebrato il Signor Almirante assai un quadro che tiene il Signor Duca di Medina Vicerè di costì, fatto dà Vostra Signoria di detta Natività* sono astretto supplicarla che non lo facci inferiore di detto Quadro, ne' hanche sij inferiore del quadro della Natività che Vostra Signoria fece al Re Nostro Signore, quando la Regina d'Ungaria era in Napoli.

"Nel quadro le supplico a non voler fare meno figuri di quelle Vostra Signoria fece nella Sepultura di Cristo, tanto più che per il travaglio che Vostra Signoria si prese, sul corpo del Signore si potriano compensare e fare più figuri in detto quadro della Natività, la Madonna Nostra Signora (che è èil Personaggio Principale) la desideriria con faccia bellissima come stasse in estasi vestita in bianco con manto torchino, il S. Gioseffo

lo desideriria hanche con faccia bella di omo proporzionato come quello che Vostra Signoria anni addietro inviò a Don Tommaso Ioppolo, in Palermo. Et il Pottino overo Bambino, lo desideriria posto in una Positura come iacciasse ragij con li quali illuminasse tutti li suddetti personagi, et Pastori nelli quali pastori vi fosse qualche Donna.

“Il favoro particolare, quale domando a Vostra Signoria è che sij servita nel'Aere farli; Una nuvola sulla quale vi sij Un Angelo con puttini che Annuncino la Gloria et con dicto Angelo qualche Serafino o Angeletti: Vostra Signoria perdoni se li faccio questa istanza per vedere il bon effetto che ha fatto quella hauta et Angeli nel quadro dell'Assunzione di Nostra Signora quale Vostra Signoria fece al Duca di Montalto, il prezzo sarrà docati quattrocento, in conto delli quali invio a Vostra Signoria Ducati 150 e l'inclusa polisa di cambio e di più la invio la misura di detto quadro avvertendola che sij per dritto pari dell'altro. Et dicto quadro me l'invij quanto prima. Vostra Signoria hanche potrà ordinare per fare la cornice dorata pari di quella dell'altro quadro con accusarmi il prezzo.

“Bacio le mani. Palermo 3 novembre 1641.”

“Di Vostra Signoria servitor affezionatissimo Cristoforo Papa. (Sig. Gioseffo de Ribera –nel Palazzo di Napoli)” (ASN, Sezione Giustizia, Gran Corte della Vicaria, Ordinamento Zeni, Fascio 159 / 5, f. 12r, v).
* This painting appears in the inventory of the possessions of the duke of Medina de las Torres (1669), no. 232 (Burke 1989). Pacelli 1979.

December 9, 1641: Cristoforo Papa pays an advance of 150 ducats to Ribera for the *Nativity* he has commissioned.

“A Geronimo Andreini D.150. E per lui a Giuseppe Ribera trattili da Palermo Antonio e Angelo Maria Costa con lettera di 30 ottobre di cambio con Cristofaro Pepe” (ASBN, Banco del Popolo, Giornale del 1641, Matr. 245, 9 dicembre). Pacelli 1979; Nappi 1990.

1642: Ribera and Giovanni Palomino are witnesses to the wedding of Andrea Azzolino and Maria Tecla Cañizal (or Cannizzaro), daughter of Baldassare. Prota-Giurleo 1953.

April 15, 1642: Ribera pays 400 ducats to Giovanni Gerolamo de Crescenzo on behalf of the heirs of Giovanni Gerolamo Paduano, who had sold him the house in Chiaia (ASBN, Banco dell'Annunziata, Giornale del 1642, Matr. 217, 15 aprile). Nappi 1990.

August 13, 1642: Letter from Cristoforo Papa to Ribera saying that he has had no news of the *Nativity* he commissioned on November 3, 1641.

“Con tutto che per alcuni me letteri habij supplicato Vostra Signoria acciò mi avesse favorito spedirmi il quadro della *Natività*, nulla di meno non solo ho meritato havere l'intento, ma ne hanche di detti letteri ho avuto risposta; Onde ho fatto pregare il lator della presente acciò in mio nome assiste appresso Vostra Signoria con pregarla che qui mi favorisca di spedir detto quadro, come hanche Io per mezo di questa mia, prego Vostra Signoria acciò lo spedisca nella conformità che Io per mie letteri ho significato Vostra Signoria. E Io non ho inviato più denari a Vostra Signoria per non havermelo significato aspettando ordine di Vostra Signoria per servirla alla quale bacio le mani. Palermo 13 Agosto 1642.

“Di Vostra Signoria Servitor aff.mo Christoforo Papa.”

“Al Signor Gioseffo de Ribera nel Palazzo di Napoli” (ASN, Sezione Giustizia, Gran Corte della Vicaria, Ordinamento Zeni, Fascio 159 / 5, f. 13r). Pacelli 1979.

April 2, 1644: Marriage contract between Margarita Ribera, daughter of the painter, and Giovanni Leonardo Sersale.

“Die secundo mensis Aprilis XII indictionis 1644 neapoli Capitoli fatti e convetioni nel

nome de Dio habiti inditi e firmati da il signor Gioseppe de Ribbera della Città di Xativa del Regno di Valetia in napoli Comorante instante all'infrascripta tanto per se quanto per nome e parte della S.ra D è Margarita de Ribbera di napoli figlia legittima et naturale d'esso sr Gioseppe in Capillo existente, et per li suoi et di detta D. Marg.a heredi e soccessori da una parte. Et tra il Sr Uditore Gio Lonardo Sersale de napoli instante similmente all'infrascritto per se suoi heredi e soccessori dal altra parte sopra del detto matrimonio deve dare felicità contrahendo tra essi sr. Gio Lonardo ex una et detta s.a D. Margarita ex altera sono l'infrascritti: In primis promette esso sr Gioseppe fare effetto exequutione reali perche detta d. Margarita sua figlia pigliera et accettara detto s.r Gio lonardo in su sposo e con lui contraherà solenne et legittimo matrimonio come comanda santa Romana ecclesia infra et per tutto il mese di Agosto proximo del presente Anno 1644. Per contemplatione et Causa del quale matrimonio et per li pesi di quello comode supportandi promette esso s.r Gioseppe dare pagare et assignare in dote dotis noie[?], et per le doti di detta D Margarita al detto s.r Gió lonardo suo futuro marito ducati cinque milia in questo modo: ducati mille al tempo se contraherà detto matrimonio in tante gioije et oro lavorato da estimarnosi per doi esperti comuniter elegendi; et altri Ducati quattro milia, per complimento di detti Ducati cinque milia integre doti di detta d. Margarita et jn loro sodisfatione promette esso sr Gioseppe dare et assignare sin come consuetudine detto matrimonio contratto, rende cede, et renunza al detto s.r Gio lonardo presente annui ducati ducent ottanta alla ratione di sette per cento delli primi denari peggioni et intrate provenientino et proventuri tanto de una sua casa consistente in palazzo et diversi edificij fatta per esso s.r Gioseppe dalle pedamenta sita, et posta nella strada de s.to Spirito dalla porta piccola justa li beni di D. fran.co de Allegria justa li beni del quondam Capitano Basso via pubblica et altri confini, per franca et libera da ogni

peso, quanto da tutti et qualsivogliono altri beni d'esso s.r Giuseppe dovunque siti et post presenti, et futuri in solidum con la potestà di variare ad elettione di esso s.r Gio Ionardo et con la promessa quale conventione li fa dell'evittione generale è speciale da tutti huomini, è persona in ampla forma et di loro annui pagamenti, cioè ogni sei mesi, numerandi dal dì sera contratto detto matrimonio, annui D. centoquaranta, et con li patti consequitivo, et recissorio in forma et signanter che mancando del pagamento predetto, per un anno continuo pagare detto capitale, de quali a tempo se celebrando le cautele dotali di detti, D.Margarita promette esso s.r Giuseppe di nuovo cautelarne detto s.r Gio Ionardo per pubblico instrumento à consiglio del savio in pace, senza replica ne ecceztione alcuna" (ASN, Pandetta Nuova IV, 1877/78, f. 10r, 10v. Notaio Tommaso del Giudice).
Unpublished.

1644, between April and August: Margarita marries Giovan Leonardo Sersale, judge of the court of the Vicaria. In 1645 Sersale was appointed judge and assessor of Capua, and, in 1647, royal magistrate of the Terra d'Otranto, and later of Lucera. He died August 31, 1651.
Prota-Giurleo 1953.

April 14, 1644: Cristoforo Papa seeks the completion of the *Nativity* and commissions an *Agony in the Garden*.

"Era pronto venire in Napoli, con li Galeri che il Signor Admirante inviava così al Signor Marchese de los Veles, ma per haver venuto aviso che detto Marchese saria in Messina hà lasciato di venire detti Galeri.

"Venendo costì il Signor Don Francesco Ferraro, mi ha parso baciare a Vostra Signoria le mani, et inviarli questi instuchi pregandola a voler spedire il quadro della Natività di Nostro Signore con la Gloria delli Angeli nella conformità che li scrisse a Vostra Signoria.

"E più supplico Vostra Signoria a volermi fare un quadro alla dritta della misura che l'invio qui inclusa nel quale vi sij Cristo che fa oratione all'orto con l'Angelo che lo consola. Et sijno meri figuri del naturale Avisando Vostra Signoria il cambio che l'ho da fare et il tutto sij spedito quanto prima baciando a Vostra Signoria le mani

"Palermo 14 aprile 1644."

"Di Vostra Signoria Servitore aff.mo
Christoforo Papa."

"Al Signor Gioseffo de Ribera"

(ASN, Sezione Giustizia, Gran Corte della Vicaria, Ordinamento Zeni, Fascio 159 / 5, f. 14r).
Pacelli 1979.

September 2, 1645: Ribera pays 91 ducats to his son(?).

"A Giuseppe de Ribera D.91,57. E per lui ad Antonio de Ribera suo fratello* per altritanti" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1645, Matr. 344).

* Although the document says brother, the only Antonio de Ribera we know of is the painter's son.
Nappi 1990.

December 22, 1645: Payment for an *Apollo and Marsyas* for the marquess Serra (see September 13, 1646).

"Partita di ducati 30, estinta il 22 dicembre. A Paulo Spirito D.30 E per lui a Giuseppe de Rivera a compimento de D.100, dite sono per conto d'un quadro li faurisce della favola d'Apollè de Martia. E per esso ad Antonio de Ribera per altritanti" (ASBN, Banco dello Spirito Santo, Giornale del 1645, Matr. 344).
Nappi 1983.

1646: Ribera acts as a witness, along with his son Antonio, to the marriage of his brother-in-law Gabriele Azzolino and María Nervais y Neina.
Prota-Giurleo 1953.

January 22, 1646: Payment for a painting with various figures for the marquess of Postiglione.

"A 22 gennaio 1646 — Gio: Battista Franco M.se dello Postiglione paga D.ti 30, a Giuseppe de Ribera in conto del prezzo di uno Quatro che li ha da fare fra termini di 4 mesi da hoggi con diverse figure" (ASBN, Banco dell'Annunziata, Giornale del 1646, Matr. 249, 22 gennaio).
D'Addosio 1913; Nappi 1990.

January 27, 1646: Reference is made to Ribera as resident in the Palazzo Reale in the suit brought by Cristoforo Papa against the painter.

"Joseph de Ribera Hyspanus de familia suae excellentiae commorans in Regio Palatio . . ." (ASN, Sezione Giustizia, Gran Corte della Vicaria, Ordinamento Zeni, Fascio 159 / 5, f. 3r).
Pacelli 1979.

July 28, 1646: The court of the Vicaria orders Ribera to return the 150 ducats given him by Cristoforo Papa.

"Per ordine de quella e ad istantia di Cristoforo Papa fate ordine et mandato a Giuseppe Ribera alla pena d'onze diece fisco regio perchè fra doi giorni li vogli restituire et pagare li docati 150 che a nove de dicembre 1641 li sono pagati sotto suo nome" (ASN, Sezione Giustizia, Gran Corte della Vicaria, Ordinamento Zeni, Fascio 159 / 5, f. 1r).
Pacelli 1979.

September 13, 1646: Settlement of the *Apollo and Marsyas* for the marquess Serra. "A Cornelio Spinola D.100. E per esso al dottor Paulo Spirito, quali sono in conto di un quadro ch'esso fa fare per servitio del marchese Serra. E per lui a Giuseppe de Rivera e sono per saldo dell'integro prezzo del quadro di Apollo e Martia a lui consignato" (ASBN, Banco di San Giacomo,

Giornale del 1646, Matr. 212, 13 settembre). Nappi 1990.

November 22, 1646: Payment for an *Immaculate Conception* that Ribera is painting for the Palazzo Reale chapel.

"A Bernardo Velli ducati 100 et per esso A Giuseppe de Ribera a compimento di ducati 400, che li altri 200 l'ha ricevuti per mano del secretario Gasparro dell'Arco e sono a conto del quadro seu pintura de Nostra Signora la Conceptione che sta facendo per la cappella nova reale" (ASBN, Banco di San Giacomo, Giornale del 1646, Matr. 212, 22 novembre). Nappi 1983.

November 27, 1646: See the preceding comment.

"A Bernardo Velli ducati 100 et per esso a Giuseppe de Rivera e sono a conto del quadro della Conceptione che fa per la nova cappella reale. E per esso a Marco Rossi" (ASBN, Banco di San Giacomo, Giornale del 1646, Matr. 212, 27 novembre). Nappi 1983.

December 24, 1646: See the preceding comment.

"A Bernardo Velli ducati 80 et per esso a Gioseppe Ribera a compimento di ducati 530 che l'altri ducati 450 l'ha ricevuti cioè ducati 250 per nostro Banco e ducati 200 contanti a conto del quadro di Nostra Signora la Concettione che have fatto per la cappella nova reale" (ASBN, Banco di San Giacomo, Giornale del 1646, Matr. 212, 24 dicembre).

[In the seventeenth-century manuscript entitled "Diario del successo nelle Revolutioni popolari de Napoli dalli 7 di luglio 1647 in avanti," reference is made to this painting: "Tenendo Giuseppe Ribera famoso pittore una bellissima figliuola, il cui ritratto il medesimo padre l'effigiò, nella figura della Conceptione novamente

fatta nella cappella del Regio Palazzo..." (Biblioteca della Società di Storia Patria Napoletana, XXI, B, 13bis, f. 53. See Ceci 1894).] Nappi 1983.

[In 1885 Faraglia published a document that is an appraisal of a picture in the Cappella di San Gennaro in the Cathedral. He claimed it was Ribera's appraisal of his own picture of *San Gennaro Emerging Unscathed from the Furnace*, the large altarpiece still in situ. Faraglia's interpretation has been followed by most writers on Ribera, and it has seemed appropriate to date the document to ca. 1647, the year in which Ribera was paid for his painting. In fact, the document has nothing to do with Ribera and is a valuation by three of the deputies of the Cappella di San Gennaro of Domenichino's altarpiece showing *The Martyrdom of San Gennaro*, which is also still in situ. The document probably dates from 1639 or 1640, and it is known that Domenichino received payment for the picture on June 8, 1640 (see Strazullo 1978, document 619). The document was also published by R. E. Spear in his monograph on Domenichino ([New Haven and London, 1982], vol. 1, p. 335), and he correctly connected it with Domenichino's painting. Spear, however, was unaware that the document had already been published by Faraglia and so did not comment on its presumed connection with Ribera's picture. For the sake of completeness the document is presented here:

"Il quadro del Martirio di S. Gennaro

Il santo una figura scudi cento che in ducati sono cento cinque 105
Il manigoldo una figura 105
Il santo Diacono una figura 105
Il Diacono morto una figura 105
Il Santo co il manigoldo che gli tira la

barbba una figura 105
latro Diacono con il Chiericho una figura 105
latro Santo che il manigoldo che tira li Cappelli con il soldato con la Sargentina una figura 105
Il soldato che si appoggia allo scudo una figura 105
Il Prefetto con quella testa di soldato con lemmo una fig. 105
Il vecchio vestito di paonazzo giallo e latro vechio con una Testa Calva una figura 105
larchetatura con il paese e quello soldato accavallo con il Piedestallo con una piattif[o]r[m]a di bassorilievo una figura 105
Un angelo che sona una figura 105
Doi puttini una figura 105
Cinque sarafini una figura 105
Un altro angelo che sona con una testa di sarafino e quatro teste di serafini in splendore un fig^{ra} 105
1575"

(Naples, Archivio della Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro, vol. 60 [1588], doc. no. 60-126).

The document is signed by three of the deputies of the Cappella di San Gennaro.]

September 16, 1647: Payment for Ribera's *San Gennaro Emerging Unscathed from the Furnace*. (This payment has been published three times, but the differences between each published version lead one to think that there are three different documents in question.)

1. "1647. 16 Settembre. Per un quadro grande a olio convenuto in Duc.1400; che per generosità del cavaliere furono ridotti a Duc.1000" (Zibaldone della Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro, volume quarto, f. 54v).

Gualandi 1844.

2. "1647, 16 settembre. A Giuseppe Ribera ducati 1000 a compimento di ducati 1400 per l'intero prezzo del quadro pintato ad olio continente il miracolo fe nella fornace

il glorioso S.Gennaro con patto che de più che valesse detto quadro lo dona al detto glorioso Santo. . . .”

Faraglia 1885.

3. “16 settembre 1647. A Giuseppe de Rivera duc. 1000 a complimento de duc. 1400 per l'intiero prezzo del quatro dipinto ad oglio esprimente il Miracolo fece S.Gennaro nella fornace, atteso il di più l'ha donato, e li duc. 400 li ricevè à 15 ottobre 1641 per Banco” (Napoli, Archivio della Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro).

Strazzullo 1978.

Probably September 16, 1647: See the preceding comments.

“Ducati 1000. Alli Deputati della cappella del tesoro di S.Gennaro D.1000. Et per essi a Giuseppe di Rivera dite a compimento di ducati 1400 et dicono per l'integro prezzo et valore di un quadro ad oglio sopra rame consistente al Miracolo che fe il Glorioso S.Gennaro nella fornace fatto per esso Giuseppe per servitio della loro cappella del Tesoro di detto gloriosos Santo per il quale prezzo de ducati 1400 detto Giuseppe se nel chiama ben contento et soddisfatto et vole che il di più che valesse o fosse il valore et prezzo di detto quadro et pittura sia a beneficio di detto glorioso Santo come con effetto con la presente ce li dona per essere così sua volontà et divotione, declarando che li ducati 400 l'ha ricevuti per mezzo di altro banco il 18 settembre 1641” (ASBN, Banco dell'Annunziata, Giornale del 1647, Matr. 264, f. 261, senza data).

Nappi 1990.

1649–50: Record of payments made by Antonio Ruffo, the Sicilian collector, to Ribera.

“Dare:

1649. Giuseppe Ribera Pittore in Napoli deve d.ti 75 Paghattici in quel lucho per mio conto in due volte per il Prior della Bagnara per mio conto in conto di un Quadro della Pietà di p.mi 9 e' 11- del

quale ha mandato il disegno,

Accordato per d.ti 270156 D.ti 75.

A di 18 ottobre E d.ti 25 pagattoli di Tasca.

Maffetti di Napoli per ordine del Padre

Maestro frà Francesco Maria Ruffo mio

nipote in conto di d.o quadro ..149 D.ti 25.

1650 a 15 maggio d.ti cinquanta per mano

del sig.e Abbate mio fratello146 D.ti 50.

a 24 d.o E d.ti 50- altri pagattoli il detto

Sig.r Abb.e mio fratello146 D.ti 50.

a 5 di dicembre E piu deve d.ti 70 pagattoli

il sig.r Abbat.e mio fratello come per suo

Aviso con sua lettera da Napoli appare uno

al reg.o del S.r Abbate per saldo di

questi146 D.ti 70.
D.ti 270

Avere:

Havere 1650 A di 5 dicembre D.ti 270 – per prezzo di uno Quadro grande della Pietà di Nostro Signore Jesú Cristo di lunghezza p.mi 10 – Consegnato in Napoli al Sig.r

Abbate mio fratello mandatomi con barca

di p.ron D.ti 270”

(Messina, Archivio di famiglia Ruffo, Conti di Antonio Ruffo, f. 157).

Ruffo 1916.

October 7, 1649: Letter from Ribera to Antonio Ruffo in Messina, in which he speaks of a *Pietà* commissioned by the Sicilian.

“Señor Mio

“Non ho voluto mancar con occasione del padre Maestro* de far queste due ringe. Et credo che ga con altra mia V. S. Ill.ma aveva avuto notizia de la mia longa et travalloza ynfermita** ga a dio grazie me retrobo mellor azai que credo quanto prima potro dar complimento a la pieta la quale tiengo cominchata avanti che cadesse amalato come a visto yl padre Maestro assicurando alla S. V. Ill.ma Non daro penelata pes niusuno que non sia perfizzionata questo pero que a queste ore esta en bonissima disposizione.

“Et me yngeñaro a darle gusto baso a V. S. Ill.ma le mane de Napoli a di 7 de octubre.

Servitor de V. S.sa Yll.ma que le basa le mane

“Jusepe de Ribera” (Messina, Archivio di famiglia Ruffo).

* Don Francesco Maria Ruffo, nephew of Antonio.

** It seems that, beginning in the mid-1640s, Ribera suffered from an illness that kept him from painting much.

Ruffo 1916.

May 13, 1650: Flavio Ruffo, brother of Antonio, makes a payment for the *Pietà*.

“A Flavio Ruffo D.25. Et per esso a Giuseppe Rivera, dite a buon conto del prezzo del quatro che haverà da consignare per don Antonio Ruffo, suo fratello. E per esso a Iacovo Marone per altritanti” (ASBN, Banco del Salvatore, Giornale del 1650, Matr. 34, 13 maggio).

Nappi 1990.

May 31, 1650: See the preceding comment.

“A Flavio Ruffo D.25. E per esso a Gioseppe di Ribera dite a buon conto del quadro che doverà consignarli di don Antonio Ruffo suo fratello” (ASBN, Banco del Salvatore, Giornale del 1650, Matr. 34, 31 maggio).

Nappi 1990.

September 22, 1650: Letter from Ribera to Antonio Ruffo, which states that the *Pietà* is finished and requests red pigment for a *Santa Rosalia*.

“Señor mio el quadro dela pieta he finito poco a poco con tuta la mia ynfermita o procurato usar che oñi diligenza conforme V. S.a vadera et per que el quadro Merita pio asay deli trechento ducati et demandando yo dal primo li trechento vene el siñor prior dela bañara et con le bele parole sue me restrinse a duchento he chinquanta prometendone molti regali che seriano pio deli 50 ducati et non avendo visto niente ho pretesso se me desse li trichento ducati lo siñor abate Mia obligato et fato contentare et per servir à V. S.a per li duchento et

setanta levandome trenta ducati con tuto che resto ben contento per servira V.S.a et vedendo el quadro et dandole el gusto que espero le suplicavo come lo fo con questa a farne grazia de Mandarme diechi cane de questa roga per vestito de santa rosolia que en Mesina Me dichenò que he lo pio bello que se fa et Me perdonara del fastidio que le do restaro sempre obligatissimo a V.S.a. a qui baso le mane restando sempre al suo servizio de casa Napoli a di 22 de setembre 1650 en quanto ala rosolia reconosero el favor que V.S.a me fa.

“Al señor don Antonio Rufo”

“Servitor obligatissimo de V.S.a Jusepe de Ribera” (Messina, Archivio di famiglia Ruffo).
Ruffo 1916.

September 26, 1650: Flavio Ruffo settles the account of the *Pietà* for his brother, Antonio Ruffo.

“A Flavio Ruffo D.70. E per esso a Giuseppe Rivera disse esserno a compimento di ducati 270, atteso l'altri l'ha ricevuti in più partita et esserno per saldo e prezzo di un quadro della *Pietà* con più figure per conto et nome di don Antonio Ruffo, suo fratello di misura di palmi dieci in circa, e con detto pagamento restar saldo e contento. E per esso ad Orlando de Altì* per altritanti” (ASBN, Banco del Salvatore, Giornale del 1650, Matr. 35, 26 settembre).

* Orlando d'Altì: A painter, Ribera's assistant. Nappi 1990.

1651: Record of payments made to Ribera for works in the Certosa di San Martino. Ribera is working on the *Communion of the Apostles*.

“Il suddetto signor Ribera ha consigato li duodeci Profeti posti sopra l'Archi delle Cappelle, quali se li pagano ducati 80 l'uno Conforme haveva stabilito il V.P. Pisante all'ora Priore duc. 960.

Per li dui Profeti Moyse et Elia posti sopra li Nicchi alli lati della porta duc. 50 l'uno per esserno mezze figure duc. 100.

Per le due mezze figure di santo Sebastiano, e S Geronimo duc. 100.

Per lo quadro grande del Choro se li da duc. 1000.

Che In tutto sono d.2160

Resta Cred.re in d.15” (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 40v).

Faraglia 1892.

June 20, 1651: Letter from Ribera to the prior of the Certosa di San Martino with the request for an advance for the *Communion of the Apostles* because he finds himself in financial difficulties.

“Rev.mo P.dre Padrone Oss.mo

“Avevo risoluto venir di persona a riverire V.P.R.ma e sodisfare a questo debito. Dopo ho mutato parere e mel'ho riserbato per un giorno di festa per non perder tempo et attender al quadro. Fratanto vengono mio figlio e mio Genero a farli riverenza e godere della sua gentilezza, Supplico V.P.R.ma resti servita dar ordine me se paghi qualche denaro e mandarmelo con li medesimi. Il peso della casa è grande consideri il bisogno; et Io per la vita non daria pennellata per altro che per santo Martino; facciamì stare allegro che il quadro adesso cammina a tutta diligenza, con che fine la reverisco e bacio affettuosamente le mani: casa 20 Giugno 1651. D.V.P.R.ma Affett.mo servitore Jusepe de Ribera*” [On the reverse: “A 22 di Giugno 1651 ricevuto dalla Cassa ducati Cinquanta contanti. D. Fran.co”] (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 52r).

* Only the signature is in Ribera's hand. Faraglia 1892.

June 23, 1651: Letter from Ribera to the prior of the Certosa di San Martino asking for more money.

“R.mo Pre. e Pne. Ossmo.

“Quando aspettavo qualche rilievo degno della mano di V.P.R.ma. Hieri venne il padre e pure seguitò a portare la tassa del Padre Vicario delli ducati cinquanta con li quali non ho mai possuto ne posso ultimare

disegno dell'occorrenze di una Casa e Piacesse a Dio non mi fussero li pesi che di molto gusto misaria pigliarmi tutta la summa insieme. l'opra tuttavia camina; supplicando V.P.R.ma. favorischi dare ordine mese paghi qualche altra summa di denaro che per tal effetto viene a ragionarnele mio figlio al quale mi rimetto con che fine le bacio le mani, casa li 23 Giugno 1651. Di V.P.R.ma. Affmo. servitore Josepe de Ribera*” (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino).

* Only the signature is in Ribera's hand. The original of this letter, which Faraglia was able to see, has been lost. In Monasteri Soppressi 2142 fol. 796 there is a copy in a nineteenth-century hand.

Faraglia 1892.

Between August 31, 1651, and September 3, 1652: Ribera petitions King Philip IV to grant some benefice to his daughter Margarita, recently widowed.

Prota-Giurleo 1953.

September 6, 1651: Letter from Ribera to the prior of the Certosa di San Martino, informing him of the death of his son-in-law and requesting financial assistance.

“Molto Rev.do Padre,

“Haviso a V.P.R. come ayere al tardi me arrivò la nova della morte del Caro genero Gio Leonardo Sersale, tanto Vero Servitore di V.P.R., la supplico mi socorra con cento ducati perche ho da fare molti lutti e me mancano, et sono cose che non cercano dilazione e perciò la prego a farmi questo favore a ogni èbrevita, et mi consideri del modo che posso estare, per tanto mi favorisca escusarmi del travaglio, et nostro Signore sia quello che li conceda molti anni de Vita de Casa hoggi a 6 de 7bre 1651.

“Servo de Vra R.a que le basa le mane Jusepe de Ribera*” (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 54r-v).

* The last phrase and signature are in Ribera's hand.

Faraglia 1885.

After September 6, 1651: The monk's account of payments made to Ribera for works executed for the Certosa di San Martino between 1638 and 1651.

"Il quadro grande del Choro fu dato a fare a Giosepe de Ribera l'anno 1638, dal V.P.D.Gio. Battista Pisante Priore in quel tempo, insieme con li quadri delli Profeti posti sopra le Cappelle della chiesa, quali haveva già cominciati e ricevuto in conto in tre partite ducati 200 — e poi la seguente videlicet. A 4 de maggio 1638 al detto Ribera in cunto ut supra et in particolare per Caparra del quadro grande che fà per il nostro Choro duc. 100.

"Dal primo di febbraio 1638 per tutto li 3 di settembre 1643 ha ricevuto detto Ribera dal P.D.Isidoro d'Allegria all'ora Priore ducati 1365, et haveva consignato al Monasterio li 12 Profeti che stanno sopra le Cappelle, e li dui Moise et Elia, et haveva Cominciato il quadro grande quale per le sue lunghe infermità non possette finire, à tempo del Priore Pisante, ne del P. Candela suo successore.

"L'anno 1651 rihavutosi alquanto delle sue infermità fè istanza voler finire il quadro, al quale ne anco se ci pensava ne inclinava ma per le relatione del signor Domenico Gargiulo pittore, e Gennaro Monte quali asserivano che erano più di ducati 300 in mano del detto Ribera in cunto di detto quadro, si diede orecchia à farlo finire più per non perdere li detti denari, che per haver il quadro da lui già Caduto assai dalla sua virtù e forza per le sue lunghe infermità, per rispetto delle quali lui si sforzò assai, come solea dire per far vedere al Mondo ch'era vivo e non morto; e ciò faceva con gusto grande per ricuperare la sua estinta fama.

"Ha ricevuto in cunto di detto quadro dalli 15 de febraro 1651 per tutto li 6 de settembre seguente ducati 780 — che uniti con li sopradetti ducati 1365 — fanno la summa de ducati 2145 et ha consignato il quadro, del quale pretende fuor d'ogni ragione prezzo esorbitante, ne vuol stare a raggione, mentre il Monasterio intende de pagarlo Conforme ha pagato l'altre opere

sue di miglior Conditione, e valore, e come si ha fatto pagare da estranei, che saria Cento docati la figura intiera e Cinquanta la mezza figura, dal che non deve uscire senza nota di biasmo, e di Tiranno con un Monasterio dalquale ha ricevuto molte cortesie, e sempre l'ha ritrovato pronto nelle sue occorrenze, e si può dire che l'a fatto reviviscere con farli fare detto quadro dopo le sue infermità.

"Ha consignato il detto Ribera 12 Profeti posti sopra le Cappelle della nostra Chiesa, quali si pagano Conforme l'accordo fatto col V.P.Pisante a ragione di ducati 80 — l'uno per non esserno figure intere, et alquanto più grande dell'ordinario che Importano ducati 960.

le due mezze figure di Moise et Elia duc. 100.

le due mezze figure santo Geronimo e santo Sebastiano ducati 100.

lo quadro grande se stima per otto figure intiere da esperti senza passione che sariano ducati 800 — ad ogni modo se li donano altri ducati 100 — di più che sono ducati 900. Ducati 2060.

Ne ha ricevuti come appare dalli Conti de Procuratori ducati 2145. Ha ricevuti di più ducati 85" (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 50r-v). Faraglia 1885.

October 2 and 11, 1651: Three declarations presented by the friends and acquaintances of Ribera's recently widowed daughter, Margarita, who reside in houses owned by the painter.

1."Die 2 8brij 1651 Neap.

Orlando dalti di Nap: dice essere pittore et hab.a alla strada di S.to Spirito di palazzo alle case di Giosepe de Ribera d'anni venti due in Circa. . . ."

2."Die 11 m. 8brij 1651 Neapolis

Vincenza Carusa dice essere di Palermo al p.sente Comorante jn nap. da diece Anni incirca dice essere moglie del Cap.n D.Vincenzo Matta e habitare alla strada di Santo Spirito di Palazzo a Pizzo Falcone alle Case de Giosepe de Rivera d'anni tiempo due. . . ."

3.(Date same as above.)

"Margharita Sant Aniello de lauro al presente jn Napoli Comorante da Venti anni incirca . . . dice stare alli servitj de Giosepe de Rivera d'anni venti due incirca . . . dice essere moglie di Orlando d'alto . . ." (ASN, Sezione Giustizia, Pandetta IV, 1877, no. 8, fols. 2r, 8r, 9r). Unpublished.

December 17, 1651: Baptismal certificate in which reference is made to houses belonging to Ribera.

"Adi 17 de xbre 1651 Gratia Madalena Domenica Gammaiuolo figlia del sig.r Aiutante Lorenzo Gammaiuolo* e della sig.ra Dianora Barrera nasce alle case del s.r Giosepe Rivera in S.a M.a del Angli" (Parrocchia di San Marco dei Tessitori, Libro settimo dei battesimi, f. 134v).

* Perhaps this Gammaiuolo is the assistant — mentioned by De Dominici — whom Ribera employed "acciò che solamente gli porgesse i pennelli" (only to hand him his brushes). Salazar 1894.

December 22, 1651: Ribera pays 25 ducats in taxes on the house in Chiaia to a certain Francesco Gallo. Nappi 1990.

January 23, 1652: Inventory of the possessions of Giovan Leonardo Sersale, Ribera's son-in-law. The paintings are not attributed but are typical of Ribera's work.

"Ducati Cinquecento debiti dal Sr Giosepe de rivera de li quali ne rende annui ducati quarantadoi. . . ."

Jn primis quattro quatri con paesi con Cornice negre consistenti jn tre palmi l'uno.

Un altro di palmi sei di altezza anco con Cornice negre consistente jn santa Elisabetta la madonna con san Giosepe.

Un altro di Sto Domenico di Soriano del jstessa grandezza con cornice.

Un altro di palmi sei d'altezza consistente

jn una madonna con Sta Anna sto Gioseppe et sto Giachino.

Un quatro Consistente jn una madonna con un bambino.

Un quatro di palmi tre di larghezza consistente con Christo che porta la Croce adosso con figure piccole.

Doi altri quatri le jmagini dela madonna con le cornici profilate.

Un altra jmachine dela madonna di palmi doi e mezo" (ASN, Sezione Giustizia, Pandetta Nuova IV, 1877/78, f. 24r-25r). Unpublished.

July 1, 1652: Ribera rents a house in Mergellina.

"Noi protettori del Sacro Monte della Pietà di Napoli facciamo fede tener creditore in nostro Banco signor Francesco Rivera ducati cento de quali potrà disporre ad ogni suo piacere con restitutione della presente firmata e sigillata. In Napoli primo luglio 1652. E per me li sopradetti ducati cento li pagherete al Signor Gio Battista Coppola, e detti ducati sono per un affitto di una sua casa sita a Mergogliano per tutta la stagione di estate, si che e la casa ultima della torre, e per detto tempo non si debia admove nemo per uso proprio, con che li ho fatto la presente, hoggi al primo de luglio 1652. Jusepe de Ribera" (ASBN, Banco della Pietà, Volume di bancali del 1652, 1 luglio 1652). Nappi 1990.

September 3, 1652: Death of the painter.

"A di 3 settembre 1652 morì il S.r Gioseppe Rivera e fu sepolto a Mergogliano" (Parrocchia di Santa Maria della Neve, Libro II, Defunti. This parish record is to be found in the Church of San Giuseppe a Chiaia.).

Salazar 1896; Prota-Giurleo 1953.

Among the parish records of San Giovanni Maggiore, Prota-Giurleo found another record of the painter's death.

"A di 3 settembre 1652 — Giuseppe

Rivera, marito di Cat.a Azzolino, habita a Mergogliano, ha ric.to li SS.mi Sac.ti dal cura di S.M. della Neve, et sep.to à Mergolino" (Parrocchia di San Giovanni Maggiore, Libro V Defunti, f. 48v). Prota-Giurleo 1953.

Reference is made to Ribera's will in a document of May 11, 1667, according to which 5,000 ducats are to be put aside for the dowry of Francesca Ribera, the painter's daughter, 3,000 to be paid in cash and the 2,000 remaining: "i medesimi lasciati a detta Sig. D. Maria Francesca dal qm. Sig. Giuseppe de Ribera, suo padre, nel suo ultimo testamento rogato per mano del qm. Notaro Pietro Antonio della Trinità,* sopra le sue case, site in questa Città di Napoli, nella strada di Chiaia, ed altra nella strada della Porta Piccola di Santo Spirito di Palazzo..." in annual payments of 100 ducats (ASN, Notai del Seicento, Vincenzo Jannocaro, Scheda 311, n. 30).

* This could not be found in the ASN. Prota-Giurleo 1953.

December 12, 1652: Letter from Ribera's sons to the papal nuncio explaining their case with regard to the payment for the *Communion of the Apostles* for the Certosa di San Martino. They claim that the monks refused to pay Ribera the proper amount that was his due and treated him so badly that his death ensued.

"All'Ill.mo Monsignor Nuntio

"Don Antonio e Don Francesco de Ribera heredi del quondam Don Gioseppe lor padre dicono a V.S.Ill. come circa anni dui dalli Padri del Venerabile Monasterio di Santo Martino di questa Città di Napoli fu dato a fare a detto lor padre un quadro di palmi quindici in circa tanto d'altezza quanto di Larghezza consistente in una Cena del Signore con figure tredici, e la maggior parte di esse intiere più grande del naturale con molte altre fattezze in detto quadro utile e necessarie, dove dopo fenito forno detti Padri ad apprestar detto lor padre, che quello ad essi consignasse stante

che non si ritrovavano il prezzo pronto di esso e il detto quadro serviva per una festa prossima di santo Bruno di detta Chiesa, senza che neanche si ultimasse il prezzo replicandoli detti Padri non tenere con essi difficoltà nessuna a darli tutto quello che desiderava: onde passato molto tempo non solo non hanno quello soddisfatto ma anco hanno recusato pagarlo qualche era di dovere con trapazzare il detto quondam Giuseppe in più e diversi modi per il che hanno havuto ricorso dall'Ill.mo Monsignor Nuntio antecessore di V.S.Ill.ma accioche conosciuta l'evidente giustitia di essi supplicanti avesse ordinato quel che li pareva di giusto e così detti Padri si adoprono con la loro potenza di modo tale, che non solo non ha ottenuto la giustitia, che se li doveva però hanno fatto di maniera che ne anco si è di detto negotio più parlato, che per causa di tanti disgusti da detti Padri ricevuti il detto quondam Giuseppe pochi mesi sono se ne è morto, per il che ricorrono detti Supplicanti da V.S. Ill.ma La qual supplicano resti servita che nel principio del governo di V.S.Ill.ma non prometta che detti padri s'habbiano da tenere il Sangue, e stento d'altri Con la lor Potenza essendo persone Religiose Con ordinare che detto quadro Si apprezzi per persone aperte di detta professione eligendoli dall'una e l'altra parte Con pagare detti padri quel che sarà giudicato senz'altra replica overo restituir detto quadro Con perdita del Caparro co[m'è costume*] nell'arte della pittura acciò . . . no essi supplicanti trapazzati affer . . . i all'incontro pregar sempre N.S. Iddio per la Sua Salute, e esaltatione di V.S.Ill.ma ut Deus."

There follows a note from the nuncio of about forty-five words, but only the first few are legible: "Die 12 men. Xbris 1652 Neap." (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 56r-v).

* The page is damaged.

Faraglia 1892; the part that begins "La qual supplicano" is unpublished.

The Carthusians defend themselves in the suit brought against them by the heirs of

the painter, arguing that they had, in fact, overpaid Ribera.

"Super quibus etc.

"In primis Che detti de Ribera non sono heredi del quondam Giuseppe de Ribera loro Padre non portando preambolo alcuno.

"Item come il d.o quondam Giuseppe ha fatto molte et molte pitture nel Monastero de santo Martino in più et diversi anni, perli quali sempre si è caminato d'accordio per conventione fatta con il quondam Padre Priore D. Gio. Battista Pisante, continuato poi dal q.m Padre Priore D. Lorenzo Candela se sono pagate Incluso il disegno tela colore, et ogni altra cosa la mezza figura ducati 50. Quella più di mezza ducati 80. Et la figura intiera con tutti li membri nuda, o vestita ducati 100.

"Item come in executione di questa conventione fatta con detto D.Gio. Battista li 12 profili (sic profeti) per esserono più di mezza figura li sono stati pagati ducati 80 l'uno. Le due mezze figure di Moisè et Elia ducati 100. Et le altre due mezze figure Santo Geronimo et Santo Sebastiano altri ducati 100. Delli quali fu integramente soddisfatto conforme detto prezzo, senza replica, ne contraddittione alcuna.

"Item come sin dal tempo che faceva le sopradette figure nel sopradetto articolo mentionate si Convenne da farsi uno quadro della Cena del Signore per il quale Incluso il disegno, et ogni altra cosa si convenne con il detto Pisante, che se li pagassero ducati cento per ogni integra figura per il quale quadro ha ricevuto In più volte, et in diversi tempi ducati 985.

"Item come il detto quadro con tutte le figure, et mezze figure Angeli, disegni, et ogni altra pittura, che vi è secondo la sopradetta Conventione et il solito osservato nell'altri quadri Consignati al detto Monastero et di quello pagati non si può stimare più che per otto figure integre, che sariano ducati 800.

"Item come a questa ragione viene ad haver havuto soverchio ducati 185, quali fa Instantia il Monasterio che se li restituiscono con tutti danni spese, et Interesse" (ASN,

Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 57r-v).

"Super quibus Venerabile Monasterium sancti Martini instat quod deponat uti principalis Actores de errera de, et super ut in actis.

"1. Se li Attori sono Eredi del quondam Giuseppe Revera, se hanno spedito il preambolo.

"2. Item se il detto Giuseppe Revera ha fatto in Santo Martino in più e diversi anni in tempo de li passati Priori diverse pitture di tutte figure, mezze figure o più di mezze figure e se ne è stato soddisfatto, et se mai con detti Padri ha havuto differenza alcuna, ne per dette opere se ne è mai incominciata lite in nessuno Tribunale.

"3. Item se tanto neli tempi, nelli quali il detto quondam Giuseppe pittava, e faticava per il detto Monasterio, quanto doppio e prima ha tenuto e teneva legge et amorevolezza con detto Monasterio, e suoi Padri, et il detto Giuseppe se ne avaleva in tutte le occorrenze con molta prontezza e Volontà di detto Monasterio e suoi Padri.

"4. Item se il detto Giuseppe communemente e generalmente per le pitture, che faceva nude, o, vestute che se faceva riconoscere, e pagare inclusa la spesa, disegno et ogn'altra cosa quanto per la mezza figura et quanto per tutta figura.

"5. Item se il detto Giuseppe essendo stata persona pia et amica de religiosi et con Chiese procedeva con molta amorevolezza e senza tiratura è tanto più che quello per essere Valent'homo lavorava con molta facilità et in pochissimo tempo perfettionava la pittura.

"6. Item se il detto Giuseppe per le pitture fatte in detto Monasterio inclusi l'ultimo quadro della Scena il quale se litiga ha havuto in più e diverse volte a tempi per mano di diversi P.P. Procuratori et altri danari et a che quantita ascendano.

"7. Item se alli libri delli Procuratori, che pro tempore sono stati se li ha da dare fede senza contraddittione ne replica alcuna.

"8. Item se il detto quadro della Scena fu

Inventione del quondam V.P.D. Gio. Battista Pisante, il quale lo fe principiare prima che morì verso l'anno 1638.

"9. Item se il detto Giuseppe notava tutte le partite facendo libro o altra nota della quantità che aveva et per qual causa se li pagava.

"10. Item se attende la quantita ricevute dal detto Giuseppe essi eredi attori sono Creditori o debitori et in che quantita per quale quantita una con li Interessi si fa Istanza etiam per viam reconventionis quelli condannarsi" (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 59r-v). Faraglia 1892.

March 1, 1653: Gaspar Roomer buys some paintings from Giacomo de Castro, including a large *Bacchus* by Ribera, probably the *Drunken Silenus* now in the Capodimonte museum, Naples.

"A Gaspare de Roomer D.550. Et per lui a Giacomo de Castro et se li pagano per tanti quadri venduti e consignati a tutta sua soddisfazione et fra essi un bacco grande de nove et sette palmi fatto a mano dal quondam Giuseppe Rebeira spagnolo" (ASBN, Banco di Sant'Eligio, Giornale del 1653, Matr. 292, 1 marzo). Nappi 1990.

June 29, 1655: Letter from Antonio Ribera y Azzolino to the prior of the Certosa di San Martino, in which he offers for sale a painting of Saint Luke, a work by his father.

"M.to Revdo Padre.

"Per quanto Orlando mi have referito hò Visto il favore che in ogni occasione ricevo da V.R.ma a chi Sup.co in quanto al San Luca credere che sia in poco Luoco Una Cosa assai bona La quale merita che V.R.ma mostri lo affetto che porta alle cose della bona Anima, ma in ogni modo mi sotopongo à quello che Restava servito Con che credo mi honorara in avanzare a quel prezzo che si è posto. in quanto al quadro grande haveva già essere andato il maggiordomo

del Sig.^r D. Fer.do secondo quello appuntato il quale have in potere Suo La fede di credito della Summa che il pagatore li ave Consignato per ordine del detto sig.^{re} assicurando che sento che in questo non si pigli qualche mezzo termine con passare quella meta dove si sono posti loro Rev.me essendome anco a me difficile oggi risolvere altra Cosa senza farvi inteso il Sig. D. Fer.do ma desiderando yo Servire V.R.ma Vi dico in q.to al P.e D. Fran.o che si ritrova Cento ducati più per Causa che non cassa una partita di ducati cinq.ta La quale con La bona anima La cassaimo per cognoscersi evidentem.te essere duplicate receuta; che facendo detto padre riflessione Si ricordara yo per fine Si V.R.ma Vole che questo si finisca mi dia altri ducati Cinque Cento che farebero La Summa di mille e trecento con differenza di ducati quaranta tre che è questo sbaglio che a' mio conto restariano 843 Sup.la à non mirare in questo e credere che senza adulazione se fà grande Cortesia del che credo che havendo yo per Servir V. R.ma fatto un prezo Cossi basso dove mai mi credeva il potermi ridurre che V. R.ma ancora del Suo procurava fenire e non mirare a altro havisandomi di quello si risolve accio posso parlare al Sig. D. fer.do ò per Uno o per l'altro senza altre repliche non scusando à V. R.ma di farci Li favore che dimostra il suo affetto e per fine li baggio le mani

“la Casa hoggi 29 de Gugno 1655 de V. R.ma
 Servitore aff.mo
 D.Ant.o de Ribera y Azzolino” (ASN, Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 63r–v, 64r).
 Unpublished.

July 9, 1655: Payment of the sum owed to the heirs of Ribera by the Certosa di San Martino.

“1655 a 9 luglio vernedi.

“Al Monasterio di santo Martino ducati Cento e undeci, tarì 2,10 e per esso Confirma de D. Andrea Concelliero Priore di detto

monastero alli legittimi heredi del quondam Giuseppe de Ribera e per essi a D. Caterina Azzolini loro madre, Autrice e sono a Compimento de ducati duemilia e settecento attento l'altri l'hanno ricevuti Inpiu partite de Contanti quali sono l'intiero prezzo, e pagamento delli quadri fatti per la loro Chiesa de santo Martino cioè ducati 1200 per li dodeci profeti posti sopra l'archi delle Cappelle ducati Cento le due mezze figure di Moisè, et Elia ducati 1300 per il quadro grande della Scena del Coro e ducati Cento per due mezze figure de santo Sebastiano e san Geronimo Consignate, e ricevute dichiarando che con questo final pagamento de duc. 111.2.10 che restano detti heredi Autrice Intieramente sodisfatti di quanto deveno havere da detto Monasterio tanto per detti quadri di sopra notati quanto dell'altri già sodisfatti e pagati per il d.o Monasterio e per esso a D. Antonio de Ribera suo figlio 111.2.10.

“Dal Giornale del Banco di San Giacomo . . .”* (ASN Monasteri Soppressi 2142, San Martino, f. 61r–v).

* On folio 62v there is a note that reads:

“Partita di Banco del saldo fatto con l'Heredi di Riviera Pittore spagniolo dell'Opre fatte al nostro mon.” (Ibid.)
 Faraglia 1892.

August 27, 1657: Gennaro Patrone buys a *Nativity* on panel by Ribera from Giulia Gonzaga.

“A Gennaro Patrone D.100. E per lui a Giulia Gonzaga in conto di D. 200 per l'intero prezzo d'un quadro della Natività di Nostro Signore sopra tavola di mano di Giosepe de Ribera” (ASBN, Banco di San Giacomo, Giornale del 1657, Matr. 239, 27 agosto).

This document was kindly made available by E. Nappi.

Other documents concerning the family of Ribera after his death have been published by Prota-Giurleo (1953).

Addendum

April 6, 1614: “Joseph Riviera Hyspanus,” together with Guido Reni, Ottavio Leoni, and other academicians, commits himself to contribute the considerable sum of 100 ducats to the fund for the construction of the Church of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome.

The document is referred to but not quoted in M. Gallo, “Jusepe de Ribera e l'Accademia di San Luca nel 1614: Un nuovo documento,” *Fimantiquari* (Federazione Italiana Mercanti d'Arte) (April 1992), p. 68.

Concordance

				New York	Madrid	Naples
Concordance of paintings and drawings in the New York, Madrid, and Naples editions of the catalogue (* signifies not exhibited; † signifies Addendum)						
<i>Paintings</i>	<i>New York</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Naples</i>			
Amiens, Musée Picardie: <i>Mass of Saint Donatus of Arezzo</i>		127	50*			
Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya: <i>Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew</i>		26	28			
Barcelona, Private collection: <i>Saint John the Baptist</i>		89				
Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes: <i>Saint Sebastian Cured by the Pious Woman</i>		17	18			
Bogota, Laserna Collection: <i>Head of a Satyr</i>		64				
Budapest, Budapest Museum of Fine Arts: <i>Martyrdom of Saint Andrew</i>	20	23	29			
Córdoba, Museo de Bellas Artes: <i>Saint Thomas</i>		53				
Dallas, Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University: <i>A Knight of the Order of Santiago</i>	52	107	77			
Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts: <i>Saint Jerome in the Desert</i>			99			
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister: <i>Diogenes</i>	43		65			
Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti: <i>Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew</i>	19	24	26			
Florence, Private collection: <i>Magdalen</i>		16	17			
Florence, Private collection: <i>Saint Jerome</i>						49
Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum: <i>Saint Matthew</i>	29	36	47			
Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum: <i>The Sense of Taste</i> <i>Protagoras</i>	4 38					
Indianapolis, Indianapolis Museum of Art: <i>Aristotle</i>	40					
Játiva, Museo Municipal: <i>Saint Matthew</i>		52				
La Coruña, Museo de Bellas Artes: <i>Saint Andrew</i>		46				
London, Property of a trust: <i>Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence</i>	1					1
London and New York, Colnaghi & Co.: <i>Saint James the Great</i>						92
London, Harari & Johns Ltd.: <i>Saint Mary of Egypt in Ecstasy</i>						86
London, Private collection: <i>Girl with Tambourine</i>	46	82	67			
London, Private collection: <i>The Penitent Saint Peter</i>	21	27	30			
London, Private collection: <i>Democritus</i> <i>Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew</i>	7	8	5 2			
London, Wellington Museum: <i>Hecate</i>		109				
Los Angeles County Museum of Art: <i>Plato</i>	37	76	64			
Madrid, Private collection: <i>David</i>		28	31			

	New York	Madrid	Naples
Madrid, Private collection:			
<i>The Drinker</i>	45	81	66
Madrid, Private collection:			
<i>Saint Simeon with the Infant Jesus</i>	65	119	94
Madrid, Private collection:			
<i>Sense of Smell</i>	3	2	4
Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial:			
<i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i>	58	100	84*
<i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i>		101	
<i>Ecstasy of Saint Francis of Assisi</i>		110*	89
<i>Jacob and His Flocks</i>	28	60	45
Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de Madrid:			
<i>Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria</i>		121	96
Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de El Pardo			
<i>Saint Francis at Porziuncola</i>		25	27
Madrid, Museo del Prado:			
<i>Dionysus</i>		63	54
<i>Democritus (traditionally called Archimedes)</i>	22	29	32
<i>Dream of Jacob</i>	54	95	79
<i>Duel Between Women</i>	34	73	57
<i>The Blessing of Jacob</i>	44	79	61
<i>Ixion</i>	26	57*	
<i>The Liberation of Saint Peter</i>	55	96	80
<i>Martyrdom of Saint Philip</i>	56	94	81
<i>Old Usurer</i>	53	92	78
<i>Penitent Magdalen</i>		103	83
<i>Penitent Magdalen</i>		93	
<i>The Penitent Saint Jerome</i>	70	126	100
<i>The Savior</i>		42	
<i>Sense of Touch</i>	27	56	44
<i>Saint Andrew</i>		117	
<i>Saint Andrew</i>	23	41	33
<i>Saint Bartholomew</i>		105	
<i>Saint Bartholomew</i>		48	35
<i>Saint Christopher</i>		77	
<i>Saint James the Great</i>		34	37
<i>Saint James the Great</i>		47	
<i>Saint James Minor</i>		49	
<i>Saint Jerome</i>		114	
<i>Saint John the Baptist</i>		104	
<i>Saint Joseph and the Infant Jesus</i>		38	
<i>Saint Jude</i>		51	36
<i>Saint Mary of Egypt</i>		106	
<i>Saint Paul</i>		44	
<i>Saint Paul the Hermit</i>		72	

	New York	Madrid	Naples
<i>Saint Paul the Hermit</i>		102	
<i>Saint Philip</i>		55	
<i>Saint Peter</i>		35	
<i>Saint Peter</i>		43	46
<i>Saint Roche</i>	24	33	38
<i>Saint Roche</i>		37	48
<i>Saint Sebastian</i>		71	73
<i>Saint Simon</i>		50	
<i>Saint Simon</i>		40	34
<i>Sibyl</i>		62	53
<i>Tityus</i>		58	41
<i>Trinity</i>	31	70	55
<i>Vision of Saint Francis of Assisi</i>		39	
Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando:			
<i>Assumption of Mary Magdalene</i>	32	69	56
Málaga, Museo de Bellas Artes de Málaga:			
<i>Saint John the Evangelist</i>		45	
Mentana, Federico Zeri Collection:			
<i>Ecce Homo</i>		113	71
Mexico City, Museo Franz Mayer			
<i>Sense of Sight</i>	2	1	3
Milan, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli:			
<i>Portrait of a Jesuit Missionary</i>	48		75
Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera:			
<i>Mocking of Christ</i>			20
Montpellier, Musée Fabre:			
<i>Saint Mary of Egypt</i>	59	108	85
Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts			
<i>Baptism of Christ</i>	61		
Naples, Appartamento Storico del Palazzo Reale:			
<i>God the Father</i>	18	22	25
<i>Trinitas Terrestris</i>		21*	24
Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte:			
<i>Drunken Silenus</i>	16	18	21
<i>Saint Bruno Receiving the Rule</i>	62	112	112
<i>Saint Jerome and the Angel of Judgment</i>	17	20	23
<i>Saint Jerome</i>		123	114a
<i>Saint Sebastian</i>	69	124	114b
Naples, Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro:			
<i>San Gennaro</i>			91*
Naples, Museo e Certosa di San Martino:			
<i>Elijah</i>	50	88	105b

	New York	Madrid	Naples		New York	Madrid	Naples
Moses	49	87	105a	Rome, Sovrano Militare Ordine di			
<i>Pietà</i>		86*	104	Malta:			
Naples, Museo Civico Gaetano				<i>Holy Family in a Carpenter's Workshop</i>	57	97	82
Filangieri:				Rome, Private Collection:			
<i>Head of John the Baptist</i>	64	118	93	<i>Saint Jerome</i>			39
<i>Saint Mary of Egypt</i>	67	125	97	<i>Saint Jude</i>			7b
Naples, Museo Nazionale di San				<i>Saint Philip</i>			7a
Martino:				Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage			
<i>Apollo and Marsyas</i>	41	78	58	Museum:			
Naples, Private collection:				<i>Saint Jerome and the Angel</i>	15	19	22
<i>Saint Pantaleone</i>		90	72	Salamanca, Church of the Convent			
Naples, Quadreria dei Girolamini:				of Las Augustinas Recoletas de			
<i>Flagellation</i>		14	16a	Monterrey:			
<i>Saint Andrew</i>		15	16b	<i>Apotheosis of San Gennaro</i>		68	102
<i>Saint James the Great</i>	11	5	6b	<i>The Immaculate Conception</i>		66	101*
<i>Saint Paul</i>	10	4	6c	<i>Pietà</i>		65	
<i>Saint Peter</i>	9	3	6a	<i>Saint Augustine</i>	33	67	103
New York, The Metropolitan				Salamanca, Propiedad de los Excmos.			
Museum of Art:				Sres. Duques de Alba, Palacio de			
<i>The Holy Family with Saints Anne and</i>				Monterrey:			
<i>Catherine of Alexandria</i>	66	120	95	<i>Landscape with a Fort</i>	†	98	
New York, Piero Corsini:				<i>Landscape with Shepherds</i>	†	99	
<i>Saint Matthew and the Angel</i>	12		15	Seville, Patronato de Arte de Osuna:			
Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet:				<i>Crucifixion</i>	14	13	12
<i>Boy with a Vase of Flowers</i>	47	83	68	<i>Saint Bartholomew</i>		12*	9*
Palma de Mallorca, Pedro Montaner,				<i>Saint Jerome</i>		10*	11*
Conde de Zavellà:				<i>Penitent Saint Peter</i>		11	10*
<i>Saint Anthony Abbot</i>	63	115	88*	<i>Saint Sebastian</i>	13	9	8
Paris, Musée du Louvre:				Seville, Museo de Bellas Artes:			
<i>The Clubfooted Boy</i>	60	111	87	<i>Saint James the Great</i>		59	51*
<i>Saint Paul the Hermit</i>	68	122	98	Strasbourg, Musées des Beaux-Arts:			
Pasadena, The Norton Simon				<i>Saints Peter and Paul</i>	8	7	14
Foundation:				Tokyo, The National Museum of			
<i>Sense of Touch</i>	5			Western Art:			
Prague, Narodni Gallery:				<i>Crates</i>	39		
<i>Saint Jerome in His Studio</i>		116	90	Toledo, Palacio Lerma, Fundación			
Princeton, The Barbara Piasecka				Casa Ducal de Medinaceli:			
Johnson Collection				<i>The Bearded Woman (Magdalena</i>			
<i>Hercules</i>			43	<i>Ventura with Her Husband)</i>	25	32	40
<i>Prometheus</i>			42	Toledo (Ohio), Museum of Art:			
Rohrau, Graf Harrach'sche				<i>Portrait of a Music Teacher</i>	51	91	76
Familiensammlung:				Toronto, Joey and Toby Tanenbaum			
<i>The Immaculate Conception</i>	42	80	60	Collection:			
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte				<i>Saint Jerome</i>	6	6	13
Antica:				Valencia, Museo San Pio V:			
<i>Venus and Adonis</i>			59	<i>Heracleitis</i>		31	
				<i>Pythagorus</i>		30	

	New York	Madrid	Naples		New York	Madrid	Naples
Villanueva y Geltru, Museo Balaguer:				<i>Old Man Sitting on the Ground</i>		D.48	
<i>Saint Matthew</i>		54		<i>Saint Christopher</i>			2.37
Vitoria, Museo de Bellas Artes de Alava:				<i>Study for a Figure of Cain</i>			2.17
<i>Saint Paul</i>		85	70	<i>Susannah and the Elders</i>			2.8
<i>Saint Peter</i>		84	69	<i>A Marriage Scene</i>		D.12	
Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art:				France, Private collection:		D.32	
<i>The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew</i>	30	61	52	<i>David and Goliath</i>			
Weimar, Schlossmuseum:				Haarlem, Teylers Museum:		D.59	2.30
<i>Madonna and Child with Saint Bruno</i>			19	<i>Achilles Among the Daughters of Licomedes</i>		D.54	2.46
Zurich, Private collection:				Torture Scene			
<i>Anaxagoras</i>	36	75	63	Hamburg, Private collection:			
<i>Diogenes</i>	35	74	62	<i>Grotesque Head</i>	92		2.4
Location not available, Private collection:				London, British Museum:			
<i>Saint John the Baptist</i>			74	<i>Christ Beaten by a Tormentor</i>	99		
<i>Drawings</i>				<i>Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew</i>		D.11	
Bassano del Grappa, Museo Civico:				<i>Prometheus or Tityus</i>		D.16	
<i>Group of Figures Beside a Tree from Which a Man Is Hanging</i>			2.44	<i>Saint Albert</i>		D.13	
Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum:				London, Courtauld Institute Galleries:			
<i>Saint Sebastian</i>	103	D.15		<i>Man Seated, with Cherubim</i>	100		2.18
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum:				<i>Saint Bartholomew</i>		D.24	
<i>Grotesque Head</i>		D.4	2.3	London, Mr. J. A. Gere:			
<i>Saint Jerome in Prayer</i>		D.55		<i>Saint Sebastian</i>	96	D.22	
<i>Sleeping Nude with Cupids and a Satyr</i>		D.20	2.16	London, Victoria and Albert Museum:			
Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum:				<i>Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian</i>	97	D.17	2.13
<i>Saint Bartholomew</i>			2.48	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional:			
Cordoba, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes:				<i>Bust of a Man with a Fanciful Hat</i>		D.40	2.31
<i>Archangel Michael</i>		D.33	2.22	Madrid, Museo del Prado:			
<i>Samson and Delilah</i>		D.35		<i>Profile of a Soldier</i>		D.34	2.23
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett:				Madrid, Private collection:			
<i>Saint Sebastian</i>		D.56		<i>Fantastic Scene</i>	99b	D.41	
<i>Saint Jerome in the Desert</i>			2.47	Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando:			
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe:				<i>Acrobats on a Highwire</i>	106	D.44	2.28
<i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i>	120			<i>Martyrdom of Saint Peter</i>		D.38	2.27
<i>Crucifixion of Policrates</i>		D.58		<i>Turkish Dignitary</i>		D.45	2.45
<i>Figure of an Emperor</i>			25	Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum:			
<i>Group of Figures Around a Blacksmith</i>			12	<i>A Noble and His Page</i>	99a	D.28	
				Milan, Private collection:			
				<i>Grotesque Head</i>		D.5	2.5
				Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung:			
				<i>Woman Standing with a Man Lying at Her Feet</i>	113	D.46	2.42

	New York	Madrid	Naples		New York	Madrid	Naples
Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte:				Philadelphia, Museum of Fine Arts:			
<i>Grotesque Head</i>		D.6	2.6	<i>Grotesque Head with Figures</i>		D.42	
<i>Heads of Satyrs</i>		D.7		Princeton, Art Museum of Princeton University:			
New York, Cooper Hewitt Museum of Decorative Arts and Design:				<i>Saint Sebastian Bound to a Tree</i>		D.23	2.20
<i>The Immaculate Conception</i>		D.61	2.51	Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica:			
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art:				<i>Apollo and Marsyas</i>		D.51	2.39
<i>The Adoration of the Shepherds</i>	118			<i>Crucifixion of Saint Andrew</i>		D.62	2.54
<i>Crucifixion of Saint Peter</i>	98	D.19	2.15	<i>The Immaculate Conception</i>		D.49	2.32b
<i>Figures Standing near a Fallen Giant and Watching Another Figure Flying</i>	116			<i>The Immaculate Conception</i>	108		2.32a
<i>Head of a Satyr</i>	89	D.1	2.1	<i>Laocoön</i>		D.39	2.26
<i>Man in a Toga, a Small Man Holding a Banner Is Seated on His Head</i>	114	D.43		<i>Man Dragging the Carcass of a Deer</i>	107		2.29
<i>Study of Bat and Ears</i>	90	D.3	2.2	<i>Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew</i>			2.50
<i>Virgin of the Crescent Moon</i>	119			<i>Prometheus or Tityus</i>		D.37	2.24
New York, Riverdale-on-Hudson, Mr. Stanley Moss:				<i>Putti and Cherubim</i>	109		2.34
<i>Saint Cecilia</i>	117	D.60		<i>Saint John Holding the Body of Christ (Study for the Pietà)</i>	112*	D.52	2.40
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library:				<i>Saints Peter and Paul</i>	111		2.38
<i>Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew</i>		D.63	2.49	<i>Study for the Figure of God the Father</i>		D.50	2.33
New York/Rome, Private Collection:				<i>Woman Carrying a Basket on Her Head</i>		D.53	2.41
<i>Woman Carrying a Child and Kitchenware, Followed by Boy and Dog</i>		D.64	2.52	Rome, Private collection:			
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum:				<i>Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian</i>			2.14
<i>Saint Sebastian</i>	91	D.8		Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen:			
Oxford, Christ Church Picture Gallery:				<i>Study of a Man Walking</i>		D.26	2.11
<i>Saint Bartholomew</i>		D.47	2.35	San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, California Palace of the Legion of Honor:			
<i>Saint Irene</i>		D.2	2.7	<i>Man Bound to a Stake</i>	115	57	
Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts:				<i>Saint Apollonia</i>	104	D.25	
<i>Hermit Saint and Figures</i>		D.29		<i>Saint Sebastian</i>	105	D.18	
Paris, Musée du Louvre:				<i>Study of a Man with Upraised Hand (Orator)</i>	102	D.21	
<i>Man Bound to a Tree</i>		D.14		Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario:			
Paris and Switzerland, Mr. and Mrs. A. Stein:				<i>Saint Sebastian</i>	93	D.9	
<i>Men Fighting</i>	101a,b	D.30a,b	2.19a,b	Turin, Biblioteca Reale:			
<i>Penitent Saint Jerome in a Landscape and a Study for a Kneeling Mary Magdalen</i>	94	D.10	2.9	<i>Scene of Torture</i>			2.53
<i>Study for a Group of Angels</i>	110	D.36	2.36	Turin, Private collection:			
<i>Study for a Penitent Magdalen</i>	95	D.27	2.10	<i>Study of a Man with an Arrow</i>		D.31	2.21
				Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina:			
				<i>Martyrdom of Saint Peter</i>			2.43

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